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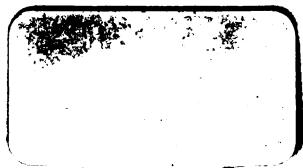
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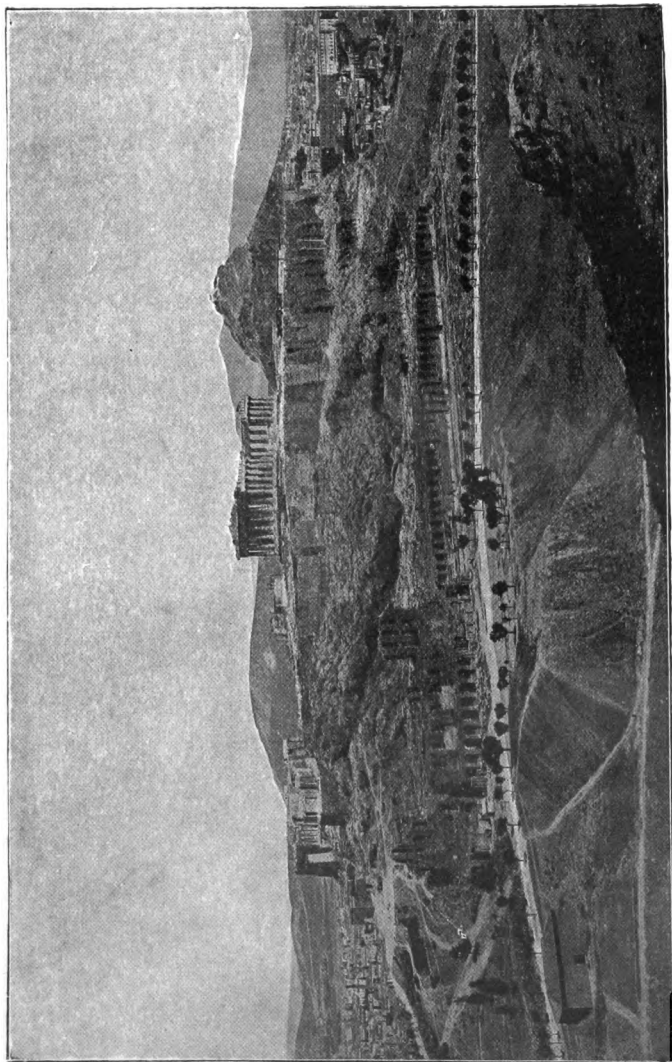


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THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS.

GREEK HISTORY

FOR YOUNG READERS

BY

ALICE ZIMMERN

(GIRTON COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE)

AUTHOR OF "OLD TALES FROM GREECE," "THE RENAISSANCE OF GIRLS"
EDUCATION," ETC.

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PREFACE TO THIRD IMPRESSION.

My aim in writing this little book has been to provide a first Greek History for pupils to whom the old legends of the gods and heroes are not quite unfamiliar. As a link between the tales of mythology and the more serious and advanced histories, I trust it may facilitate the introduction of Greek History teaching into the lower and middle forms of schools, and also serve as a home reading-book for some of the many boys and girls who love the stories of the past.

I have to acknowledge much valuable help in the revision of manuscript and proofs; in particular, from Professor C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, of Berlin, now Gladstone Professor of Greek at the University of Liverpool, Miss C. A. J. Skeel, of Westfield College, Miss Helen Macklin, M.A., and Mr. A. E. Zimmern, of New College, Oxford, author of the *Greek Commonwealth*. Miss May Sinclair has kindly assisted me with the translations, and Sir George Young has allowed me to quote (on p. 71) from his beautiful version of the *Oedipus Coloneus*. In the choice of illustrations, Mr. Cecil Smith, of the British Museum, rendered the greatest assistance. To these and all others who have helped me with advice and encouragement I tender my warmest thanks.

ALICE ZIMMERN.

March, 1912.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.—THE EARLIEST DWELLERS IN GREECE.

	PAGE
The dwellers about the Aegean	3
The coming of the Greeks	5
The descendants of Hellen	6
The heroes of olden times	8
The quarrels between Europe and Asia	9
Homer's tale of Troy	11
How ancient Troy was unearthed	11
The Trojan War	13
The little states of Greece	14
Agamemnon commands the hosts	15
The great hero, Achilles	15
The siege of Troy	16
The death of Hector	17
The taking of Troy	18

CHAPTER II.—THE BONDS OF GREEK UNION.

The many states of Greece	19
Their common tongue	19
Their common race	20
Their common religion	20
The oracles	21
Oracles of Zeus	22
Oracles of Apollo	23
The temple at Delphi	24
Croesus and the oracle	24
The League of Amphictions	25
Apollo as the protector of colonists	27
The sacred calendar	27
The Olympic Games	28
The Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean Games	31

	PAGE
Greek love of—	
(1) Exercise	31
(2) Freedom	31
(3) Beauty	32
Public spirit	33

CHAPTER III.—LYCURGUS, THE GREAT SPARTAN LAWGIVER.

The ancient legends of Argos	34
The sons of Heracles	34
The coming of the Dorians, known as the "Return of the Heracids"	36
The division of the Peloponnesus	37
Argos and Sparta	38
Lycurgus	38
His travels	38
His laws	39
The Senate	39
The Assembly	40
The Ephors (instituted long after Lycurgus)	40
Spartan poverty and simplicity	41
The division of lands	42
The common meals	42
Spartan infants	44
The boys	44
Their education	45
The girls and women	46
The Equals	47
Spartans were a nation of soldiers	47
The Spartan citizens	48
The Provincials	48
The Helots	48
Sparta becomes the first military power in Greece	49
Death of Lycurgus	49

CHAPTER IV.—THE WARS OF SPARTA.

The greatness of Argos	51
Pheidon, a great king of Argos, c. 700 B.C.	53
The growth of Sparta	54
Her quarrel with Messenia	55
The First Messenian War, c. 750-725 B.C.	56
The conquest of Messenia	60
Revolt of Messenia	60
Second Messenian War, c. 660-645 B.C.	60

	PAGE
The fate of the Messenians	63
The people of Arcadia	63
The War against Tegea	64
The grave of Orestes	65
Peace with Arcadia	66
War with Argos	66
The greatness of Sparta	67

CHAPTER V.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF ATHENS.

The ancient city of Athens	69
The fable of Cecrops	70
The worship of Athena	70
Theseus, the hero-founder of Athens	72
The Union of Attica	73
The end of kingship at Athens	74
The Archons	74
The power of the nobles	75
The Greek tyrants, 650-600 B.C.	75
Cylon tries to make himself tyrant, 632 B.C.	76
The curse on the house of Alcmaeon	77
Solon	77
The recovery of Salamis	78
The wisdom of Solon	79
The Sacred War	79
Solon as Archon, 594 B.C.	80
The sad plight of the poor at Athens	81
Solon helps the poor debtors	81
He draws up a code of laws	82
The four classes of citizens	83
The Court of Areopagus	85
Some of Solon's laws—	
(1) About taking a side in public affairs	86
(2) About speaking ill of the living	86
(3) About extravagance	86
Solon sets out on his travels	87

CHAPTER VI.—THE RISE OF ATHENS TO POWER AND FREEDOM.

Peisistratus	88
He asks for a bodyguard	89
He becomes tyrant	90
He is expelled and returns	90
His exile at Eretria	91

	PAGE
He returns a second time	91
Athens under Peisistratus	92
Improvements in the city	93
The island of Delos is purified	94
The festival of Athena is revived	95
The works of Homer and Hesiod are collected	95
Hippias, son of Peisistratus, succeeds his father, 527 B.C.	97
Plot against Hippias and Hipparchus, 514 B.C.	99
The Alcmaeonids win the favour of Delphi	100
Hippias is driven out of Athens, 510 B.C.	101
Cleisthenes and Isagoras	102
Cleisthenes is expelled by the Spartans	102
Cleisthenes returns, 508 B.C.	103
Plataea becomes an ally of Athens	103
The Spartans again invade Attica, 506 B.C.	104
Athens overcomes Boeotia and Chalcis	104
Changes made by Cleisthenes	105
The tribes and demes	105
The Council	106
The Assembly	106

CHAPTER VII.—THE RISE OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

The dominion of Persia	108
The Assyrians	108
The Medes and Persians	110
The fall of Nineveh, 606 B.C.	110
Lydia	111
The Ionian colonies	111
They are attacked by the king of Lydia	112
Media attacks Lydia, 585 B.C.	113
Peace is made	114
Croesus, king of Lydia, 560 B.C.	114
He wins over the Ionian cities	114
The riches of Croesus	115
The Persians	115
The birth of Cyrus	116
His bringing-up	117
He resolves to seize the throne	118
He becomes king, 579 B.C.	120
Croesus resolves to invade Persia	120
He crosses the Halys	121
He is defeated near Sardis	121

	PAGE
Cyrus takes Sardis, 546 B.C.	128
Croesus is taken prisoner	124
Cyrus attacks the Greek cities, 546-545	125
They fall into his hands	127

CHAPTER VIII.—THE CONFLICT BETWEEN ATHENS AND PERSIA.

Cyrus attacks Babylon, 538 B.C.	128
And takes it	129
Cambyses, son of Cyrus, conquers Egypt, 525 B.C.	130
Darius ascends the throne of Persia, 521 B.C.	130
He divides the Persian Empire into satrapies	130
The boundaries of the Persian Empire	131
Darius goes against the Scythians, 512 B.C.	132
His wonderful adventures	133
Revolt of Miletus, 499 B.C.	135
Athens and Eretria send ships to Asia and burn Sardis, 497 B.C.	135
Darius vows vengeance on Athens	136
Battle of Lade, 494 B.C.	136
Miletus is captured, 494 B.C.	137
Darius determines to conquer Greece	138
Mardonius conducts the first expedition, 492 B.C.	138
The fleet is destroyed by a storm	138
Hippias comes to Sardis	140
Darius sends heralds to Greece	140
Preparations for the second expedition	141
The fleet sails to Greece, 490 B.C., and takes Eretria	141
State of affairs at Athens	142
The benefits of freedom	142
Miltiades	142
Athens asks Sparta for help	143
The Persians land at Marathon	144
The Athenians attack them	145
Battle of Marathon, September, 490 B.C.	145
The troops march back to Athens	146
The Spartans arrive too late	146
Legends about the battle	147

CHAPTER IX.—THE GREAT PERSIAN INVASION.

Death of Darius, 485 B.C.	148
Xerxes succeeds him and plans a fresh expedition to Greece	148
Preparations for the expedition to Greece	149
A canal is dug across Mount Athos	150

	PAGE
A bridge of boats is made across the Hellespont	150
Muster of the troops at Sardis, 481 B.C.	151
The troops cross from Abydos to Sestos	152
Xerxes numbers his troops	153
He halts at Therma in Thrace	153
The Greeks hold a Congress at the Isthmus and pass three resolutions	154
The command is given to Sparta	154
The Thessalians ask for troops to defend Tempe	155
The Greeks are unable to hold it	155
They withdraw to Thermopylae	156
Leonidas defends the pass	156
The attack of the Persians	157
They find a path across the mountains	158
Leonidas and the Spartans die at their post	159
The sea fight at Artemisium	159

CHAPTER X.—THE SEA FIGHT AT SALAMIS.

The danger of Northern Greece	162
Themistocles	163
Rise of the Athenian navy	163
Ships built with money from the silver mines at Laurium	164
The new harbour of Athens	165
Themistocles and Aristides at the head of two parties	165
Aristides is ostracised	165
The danger of Athens	167
Themistocles persuades the Athenians to take to their ships	168
Xerxes takes Athens and burns it	169
The generals hold a council of war at Salamis	170
Themistocles urges them to fight	171
And prevents their escape	172
Return of Aristides	172
Battle of Salamis, 480 B.C.	173
Xerxes returns to Asia	176

CHAPTER XI.—THE END OF THE GREAT INVASION.

The return of Xerxes	177
Mardonius winters in Thessaly	178
The Greeks celebrate their victory	178
Mardonius sends a message to Athens	178
Sparta promises to help Athens	179
Athens refuses the offer of Mardonius	180

CONTENTS.

xv

	PAGE
Sparta sends an army under Pausanias, 479 B.C.	181
Mardonius prepares to meet them in Boeotia	183
Battle of Plataea, August, 479 B.C.	183
The Greek victory	187
Honours paid to the dead	188
After Salamis the Greek fleet goes to Delos	189
And thence to Samos	190
Battle of Mycale	190
Victory of the Greeks	191

CHAPTER XII.—THE FOUNDATION OF ATHENIAN EMPIRE.

The Athenians return to their city	192
They begin to build walls	192
Sparta tries to hinder them, but is checkmated by Themistocles	193
The rebuilding of Athens	195
The Long Walls	196
Athens takes the Ionians under her protection	197
Capture of Sestos, 478 B.C., and Byzantium, 477 B.C.	198
Change in Pausanias	198
He is recalled to Sparta	199
Athens organises the Confederacy of Delos, 477 B.C.	200
The sad end of Pausanias	201
Themistocles	202
His exile	203
He goes to Persia	204

CHAPTER XIII.—THE WARS OF ATHENS IN THE EAST.

The fate of Greek statesmen	205
Cimon	205
The bones of Theseus are brought to Attica	206
Cimon returns to the East	208
Battle of the Eurymedon	210
Cimon's popularity	210
Earthquake at Sparta	210
Revolt of the Helots	211
Athens sends help to Sparta	211
Her troops are sent back. Ostracism of Cimon	212
Alliance between Attica and Megara	213
War of Athens with Aegina and Corinth	213
The allies of Athens	213
The League removes from Delos to Athens, 454 B.C.	215

CHAPTER XIV.—THE GLORIOUS DAYS OF ATHENS.

The greatness of Athens	216
Pericles	216
Changes at Athens—	
(1) The Areopagus	218
(2) The Archons	218
(3) The Law Courts	218
Athenian expedition to Egypt	219
Its unfortunate end	220
The many wars of Athens	221
Five years' truce between Athens and Sparta, 451 B.C.	221
Cimon returns to the East	221
And dies at Cyprus	222
Athenian victory at sea	222
Peace with Persia, 448 B.C.	222
Revolts in the Delian League, 447 B.C.	222
Euboea revolts, 446 B.C.	223
Athens loses Megara	223
Pericles recovers Euboea	224
Thirty years' truce between Athens and Sparta, 445 B.C.	224
Pericles beautifies Athens	224
The Acropolis	225
The Parthenon	227
The Erechtheum	231
The Theatre	231
Pericles at the height of his power	233
Wealth and prosperity of Athens	233

CHAPTER XV.—THE WAR BETWEEN ATHENS AND SPARTA.

The causes of the war	236
Quarrel between Corinth and Corcyra	236
Quarrel about Potidaea	237
Complaints against Athens	238
Congress of the allies at Sparta, 432 B.C.	238
The Spartan ultimatum	239
The Athenian reply	239
The division of parties	239
The counsel of Pericles	240
The Thebans attack Plataea, 431 B.C.	241
The first Spartan invasion of Attica, 431 B.C.	242
The plague at Athens, 430 B.C.	243

	PAGE
Death of Pericles, 429 B.C.	243
Siege and fall of Plataea, 429-427 B.C.	244
Lesbos revolts from Athens, 428 B.C.	246
Fall of Mitylene, 427 B.C.	247
The success of Phormio in the West	248
Demosthenes fortifies Pylos, 425 B.C.	249
Brasidas	250
The Spartans are shut up in Sphacteria	252
Peace proposals sent to Athens	252
Cleon takes the command	253
Capture of Sphacteria, 425 B.C.	254
Athens attacks Boeotia, 424 B.C., and fails	255
Brasidas goes to Thrace, 424 B.C.	255
He marches through Thessaly	256
Several towns come over to him	256
He attacks Amphipolis	257
The surrender	257
Thucydides the historian	257
Further successes of Brasidas	257
Truce for one year, 423 B.C.	258
Fighting still continues	259
Death of Cleon and Brasidas, 422 B.C.	259
Peace	260

CHAPTER XVI.—THE ATHENIAN EXPEDITION TO SICILY.

Peace of Nicias, 421 B.C.	261
Alcibiades	261
The mistakes of the Athenians	263
Capture of Melos, 416 B.C.	263
Hellas in the West	264
Sicily	264
Its early inhabitants	265
The Greek colonies	265
The Carthaginian invasion	266
Battle of Himera, 480 B.C.	268
Prosperity of Syracuse	269
Leontini asks help from Athens	269
First expedition to Sicily, 425 B.C.	270
Segesta asks help from Athens, 416 B.C.	270
Second expedition to Sicily, 415 B.C.	272
The mystery about the Hermes figures	272
Departure of the expedition	272

	PAGE
Views of the three generals	273
Alcibiades is summoned home	274
He goes to Sparta	274
Syracuse	275
The Athenians begin the blockade, 414 B.C.	276
Gylippus is sent from Sparta to help Syracuse	277
The Athenians are cut off from the town	277
The troubles of Nicias	278
He asks for help	278
Fighting by land and sea	279
The fight in the Great Harbour, 413 B.C.	280
The Athenian retreat	280
The fate of the prisoners	282

CHAPTER XVII.—THE DOWNFALL OF ATHENS.

The news of the Sicilian disaster, 413 B.C.	283
Alcibiades' advice to the Spartans	283
The Spartans fortify Decelea, 413 B.C.	284
The joy of the enemies of Athens	284
Revolt of her allies	285
Treaty between Sparta and Persia	285
The courage of the Athenians	285
Alcibiades goes to Asia, 412 B.C.	286
Change of government at Athens, 411 B.C.	287
Sparta defeats Athens at sea	288
Fighting near the Hellespont	289
Battle near Abydos, 411 B.C.	289
Battle of Cyzicus, 410 B.C.	290
Sparta proposes peace	291
Alcibiades recaptures Byzantium, 408 B.C.	291
He returns in triumph to Athens	292
Lysander and Cyrus	293
Alcibiades loses the command	293
Battle of Arginusæ, 406 B.C.	294
Battle of Aegospotami, 405 B.C.	294
Despair at Athens	295
Surrender of Athens	295
Hard terms of peace	296

CHAPTER XVIII.—THE YEARS OF SPARTAN RULE.

The greatness of Sparta	297
Her selfish policy	297
The harmosts	298

CONTENTS.

xix

	PAGE
The Thirty at Athens, 404 B.C.	299
The exiles at Thebes attack the Thirty, 403 B.C.	299
Pausanias settles the Athenian disputes	300
Return of the exiles	300
The expedition of Cyrus, 401 B.C.	301
His march to Babylon, 401 B.C.	302
Battle of Cunaxa	303
The retreat of the 10,000 Greeks	304
Xenophon	305
They reach the sea	307
Sparta sends troops to Asia	307
Persia helps Athens	308
Agasilaus	308
His success in Asia, 396 B.C.	309
He is recalled to Greece, 394 B.C.	310
Sparta's unpopularity	310
Sparta's failure in Boeotia	310
Battle of Coronea, 394 B.C.	311
Battle of Cnidus, 394 B.C.	311
Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens, 393 B.C.	312
The King's Peace, 389 B.C.	312

CHAPTER XIX.—THE GLORIOUS DAYS OF THEBES.

Thebes—

In legend	314
In history	315
The patriot party	316
Epaminondas	316
The aggressions of Sparta	317
Spartans seize the Cadmeia, 387 B.C.	317
Pelopidas and the exiles	318
Plot to recover the Cadmeia, 379 B.C.	318
The Spartans have to retire from Thebes	319
Sphodrias attacks the Peiraeus, 378 B.C.	320
The revival of Athens	321
Fighting between Sparta and Thebes	321
Sparta and Athens	321
Battle of Naxos, 376 B.C.	322
Peace Congress at Sparta, 371 B.C.	322
Ends in a fresh war with Thebes	323
Excellence of the Theban army	323
Battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C.	324

	PAGE
The greatness of Thebes	325
Epaminondas helps the Arcadians and Messenians	325
He marches on Sparta, 370 B.C.	326
Growing jealousy of Thebes	326
Pelopidas in the North	328
Epaminondas in the South	328
Battle of Mantinea, 362 B.C.	328
Death of Epaminondas	329

CHAPTER XX.—THE RISE OF MACEDONIA.

Macedonia	330
Its part in Greek history	330
Quarrels for the succession	331
Philip is taken as hostage to Thebes	331
Philip becomes regent, 359 B.C., and then king	332
He captures places in Thrace, 357-56 B.C.	332
Position of Athens	333
Her allies declare war, 357 B.C.	334
The settlement of Macedonia	334
Philip organises his army	335
The phalanx	335
The Sacred War between Phocis and Thebes, 353 B.C.	335
Philip takes part in the war, 353-52 B.C.	337
He returns to Thrace and attacks Olynthus, which sends to Athens for help	337
Demosthenes	337
Philip takes Olynthus, 348 B.C.	339
Athenian embassy to Philip, 347 B.C.	339
Alliance of Philip with Thebes	340
Philip is admitted to the Amphictionic League, 346 B.C.	340
Demosthenes attacks Philip	341
Philip marches South, 338 B.C.	341
Thebes joins Athens	341
Battle of Chaeronea, 338 B.C.	342
Hard treatment of Thebes	343
Kindness shown to Athens	343
Murder of Philip, 336 B.C.	344

CHAPTER XXI.—ALEXANDER, THE GREAT CONQUEROR.

Boyhood of Alexander	345
He checks revolt in Greece, 336 B.C.	345
He is elected general of the Greeks	346

CONTENTS.

XXI

	PAGE
His power of overcoming difficulties	346
Revolt of Thebes, 335 B.C.	347
Alexander defeats the Thebans and destroys their city	347
Alexander's admiration for Achilles	348
The condition of Persia	348
Alexander's march to the East, 334 B.C.	349
He visits Troy	349
Battle of the Granicus, 334 B.C.	350
Conquest of Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia	351
He cuts the Gordian knot	351
Death of Memnon	351
Darius musters an army	352
Battle of Issus, 333 B.C.	352
Flight of Darius	353
Darius writes to Alexander, who refuses his terms	355
Conquest of Syria, 332 B.C., and Egypt	356
Battle of Arbela, 331 B.C.	357
Alexander takes Babylon, October, 331 B.C. ; Susa, December, 331 B.C. ; and Persepolis, 330 B.C.	358
The burning of Athens avenged	358
He pursues Darius	358
Who is murdered by his own subjects, 330 B.C.	360
The end of the conflict between Europe and Asia	360
Conquests in the Far East, 330-325 B.C.	360
Death of Alexander, 323 B.C.	360
The story of Greece ends with Alexander	361

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS	<i>Frontispiece</i>
ANCIENT MASONRY	4
ANCIENT HAND-MADE POTS	7
HOMER	10
TREASURE FOUND IN THE RUINS OF TROY BY DR. SCHLIEMANN.	
From the <i>Atlas Trojanischer Altertümer</i> , by Dr. Heinrich Schliemann, Leipzig, 1874 (by permission)	12
SIEGE OF A CITY, FROM A SILVER VESSEL FOUND AT MYCENAE.	
From 'Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, Athens, 1883	16
HEAD OF ZEUS	21
DELPHI: THE CASTALIAN FOUNTAIN	23
CHARIOTEER FROM DELPHI	26
OLYMPIA, WITH THE TEMPLES RESTORED. Suggested Restoration	
from Boetticher's <i>Olympia</i>	29
CHARIOT RACE. From Gerhard's <i>Auserlesene Vasenbilder</i>	32
HERACLES	35
ARGOS: THE CITADEL	52
ITHOME	57
CONTEST BETWEEN ATHENA AND POSEIDON. From <i>Comptes Rendus de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg</i> . Atlas, 1872	
GROUP OF OLIVE TREES	71
THESEUS AND THE MINOTAUR. Gerhard, <i>Auserlesene Vasenbilder</i>	73
ATHENIAN SOLDIERS	83
TRIEMME (GREEK WARSHIP)	84
SCENES FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE. From Baumeister's <i>Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums</i>	
GREEK WRESTLERS. Gerhard, <i>Auserlesene Vasenbilder</i>	97
HARMODIUS	98
ARISTOGEITON	99

	PAGE
ASSYRIAN KING'S CHARIOT AND SOLDIERS. From Layard's <i>Nineveh</i>	109
RUINS OF SARDIS	122
CROESUS ON THE PYRE. From <i>Monumenti inediti dall' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica di Roma</i> , Vol. I.	124
TOMB OF CYRUS THE GREAT. From <i>L'Art Antique de la Perse</i> , by Marcel Dieulafoy, Paris, Librairie Centrale d'Architecture (by permission)	129
SCENES FROM THE DARIUS VASE. <i>Mon. ined. di Roma</i> , Vol. VIII.	139
PERSIAN IMMORTAL. From <i>Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité</i> , by George Perrot and Charles Chipiez	152
POTSHERD (<i>Ostrakon</i>) WITH THE NAME OF THEMISTOCLES (<i>Themis- tokles Phrearrios</i>). From <i>Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Athen</i>	166
GREEK KILLING PERSIAN. From Paul Hartwig's <i>Die griechischen Meisterschalen</i> , Berlin, W. Spemann, 1893	186
PEDESTAL OF TRIPOD DEDICATED AT DELPHI TO COMMEMORATE THE BATTLE OF PLATAEA. From <i>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>	188
A SACRIFICE	190
WALL OF PEIRÆUS	194
COIN OF ATHENS	200
THE TEMPLE OF THESEUS AT ATHENS	207
SOPHOCLES	209
CORINTH: CITADEL AND TEMPLE OF ATHENA	214
PERICLES	217
THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS	226
THE PARTHENON	229
METOPE FROM THE PARTHENON	230
ATTIC WINE JAR	232
ATTIC JARS	234
THUCYDIDES. From <i>Greek and Roman Portraits</i> , by Paul Arndt and F. Bruckmann	258
ALCIBIADES	262
SICILIAN COINS	267
TEMPLE OF SEGESTA	271
QUARRY AT SYRACUSE, WHERE THE ATHENIANS WERE IMPRISONED	281
PERSIAN DARIC	310
CADMUS AND THE DRAGON. Millingen, <i>Ancient Unedited Monu- ments</i> , London, 1822, 4to	315
COIN OF EPAMINONDAS	316
MESENE: THE ARCADIAN GATE AND WALLS	327

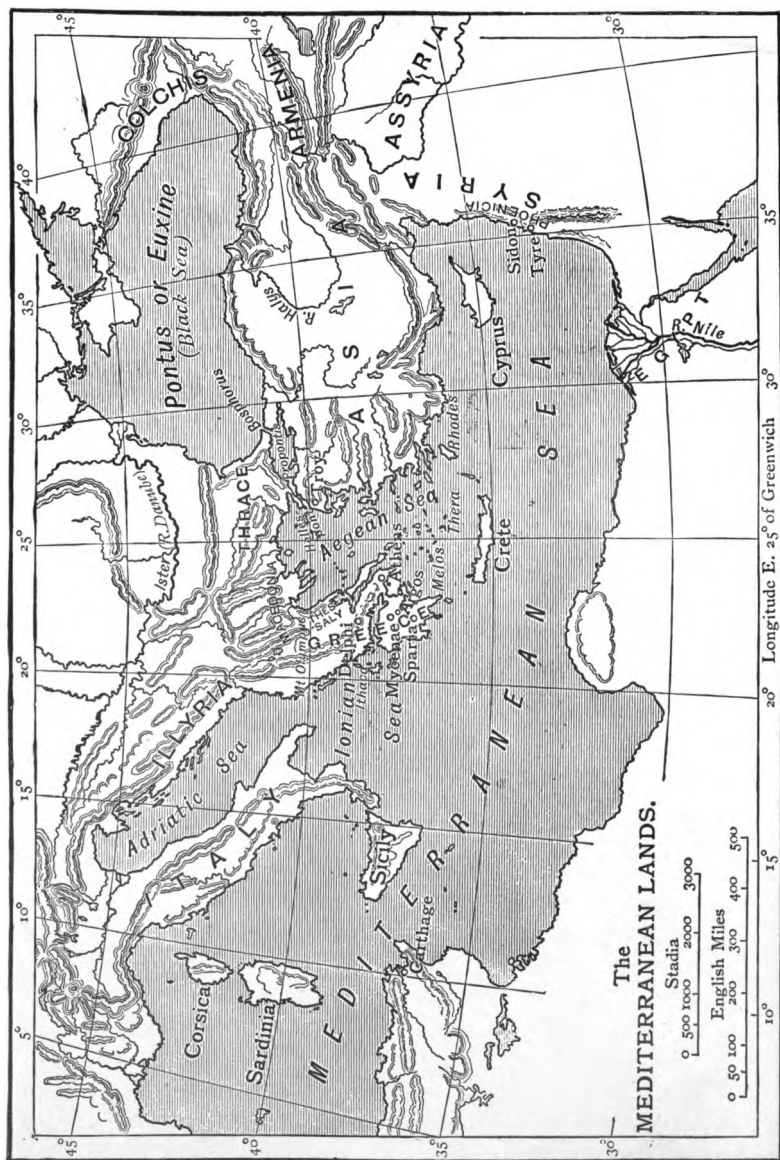
	PAGE
COIN OF PHILIP	332
DEMOSTHENES	338
LION OF CHAERONEA. From <i>Monumenti ed Annali dall' Inst. di</i> <i>Corr. Arch. di Roma</i> , 1856	342
THE BATTLE OF ISSUS (DARIUS AND ALEXANDER). From Nicolini's <i>Le Case ed i Monumenti di Pompei</i>	354
THE RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS. From Stolze and Noeldeke's <i>Persepolis</i> , by permission of A. Ascher & Co., Berlin	359
ALEXANDER THE GREAT. From a Print in the British Museum	361

COLOURED MAPS.

THE PELOPONNESUS WITH PART OF NORTHERN GREECE <i>facing page</i>	35
ASIA, CIRCA 600 B.C.	46
THE PERSIAN EMPIRE UNDER DARIUS	131
PERSIAN INVASIONS	142
GREECE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR	243
THE MARCH OF CYRUS AND THE RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND	254
GREECE	325
THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT	332

MAPS IN THE TEXT.

THE MEDITERRANEAN LANDS.	2
ATTICA	68
SALAMIS	170
BOEOTIA	182
THE LONG WALLS	196
SICILY	264
SYRACUSE	275



CHAPTER I.

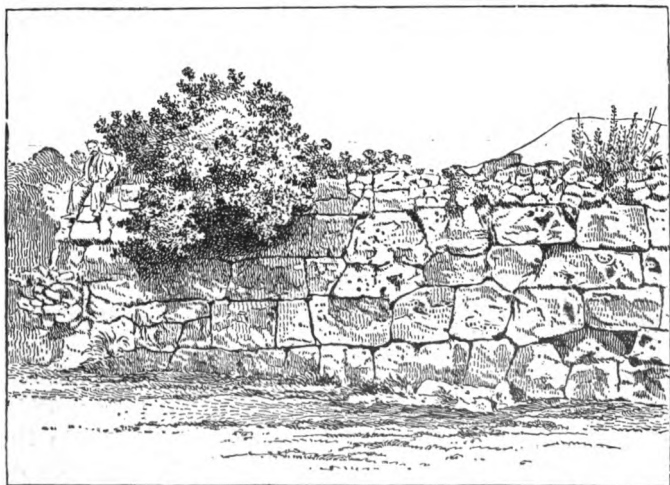
THE EARLIEST DWELLERS IN GREECE.

LONG, long ago, two thousand years and more before the time of Christ, there lived on the islands and shores of the Archipelago, in the countries we now call Greece and Turkey and Asia The dwellers
about the
Aegean.

Minor, a race of men whose language has not come down to us. They had a writing of their own, though we have not yet learnt to read it; they made war on one another, as indeed all nations of the earth have done, and they fought with weapons of stone and copper, for iron was not found in their lands, and what little was brought from afar ranked among the precious metals. The potter's wheel was not known to them, and they fashioned clay with the hand; they built their walls of huge blocks of stone, and filled in the crevices with smaller fragments and chips. As we do not know the name of this people, we sometimes call them the Aegean race, from the Greek name of the sea about which they dwelt.

Centuries passed away, cities rose and fell, and the people of the Aegean had experienced many changes. They had grown richer and more skilful, and had travelled and seen more of the wonders of Egypt and other lands. They had learnt to mix tin with copper and so make weapons of bronze, they fashioned their pots with the wheel and decorated them with lines and spirals, and with pictures of animals and even of men.

Some of these pictures were roughly drawn and seem a little comic to our eyes, but from them we can tell what these people of the olden time were like, what sort of clothes the men and women wore, and how they dressed for battle. They built strong fortresses on the tops of hills, and surrounded them with walls of which portions are yet standing. Many of these old remains have been found in the eastern parts of Greece, and the noblest of all in the ancient city of Mycenae, from



ANCIENT MASONRY.

which the great King Agamemnon set out to conquer Troy. The kings lived in spacious palaces built round great courtyards, surrounded by pillared porticoes. From the courtyard was the approach to the hall, in which stood the great round hearth. This was the centre of the house, where the lord welcomed his guests, and the banquet was cooked in the presence of the company. Once upon a time these palaces were gay with colour. The walls were bright with paintings

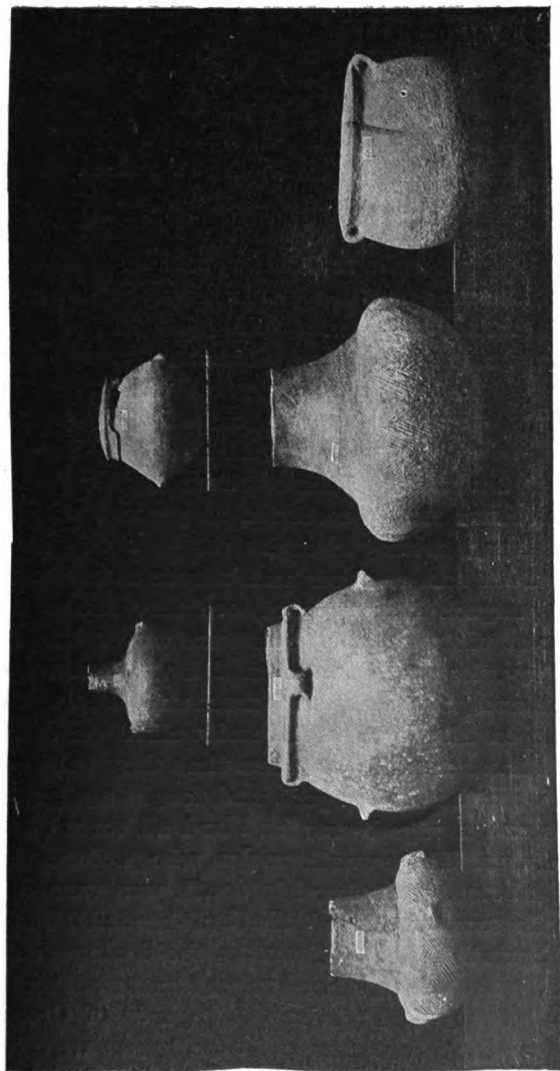
and inlaid friezes, the hearth was decorated with patterns in red, blue and white. The lords of these palaces were rich men who owned gold and silver in plenty. They went to battle in two-horsed chariots, and their people followed on foot, armed with sword, spear and bow, with huge leathern helmets on their heads and shields of ox-hide reaching from their necks almost to their feet. When these great lords died they were buried in splendid tombs, fashioned with coloured marble and alabaster and porphyry. Weapons were buried with the men, rich ornaments and household utensils with the women, and their heads were crowned with golden diadems. For more than three thousand years all these treasures were hidden away, but now the tombs have been opened, the walls laid bare, the palace remains brought to light, to tell us of these mighty princes, their wealth, their great works and the glory of their burial. These old tombs and jars and weapons are books for those who can read them, that tell a tale as plain and clear as though it had been written down in their own tongue.

But the Greeks about whom our history has to tell, were a different people from the Aegeans. We know very little about their origin and former home, but it is probable that they were a part of the great family of peoples to which most of the nations of North and Central Europe belong, and that they came down into Greece from the North, perhaps because invaders from other parts were pushing them out of their old homes. They did not come all at once with a great army, but gradually, a few at a time, in search not of conquest, but of new homes to dwell in and new fields to cultivate. Probably they began by fighting, and afterwards made friends with the old inhabitants. The new-comers, who were a people of shepherds and farmers, cared little at first

for the arts in which the older inhabitants excelled, and their invasion was a check rather than a help to civilisation. But after a time the two settled down together, and the Aegeans began to intermarry with the strangers. It was from the mixture of these two races that the Greeks of history sprang.

Of course all these invasions and changes lasted a long time, and one led to another. While new-comers were pressing into Greece from the North and West, they were driving some of the older inhabitants eastward across the sea to Asia, or northward by the land way and over the narrow straits. So it happened that great changes took place on both sides of the Aegean, as the people whom we call Greeks, but who called themselves Hellenes, settled into their new home.

Little as we know of these ancient times the Greeks themselves did not know much more. But
The descen- they were a very imaginative people, and
dants of never at a loss for a tale to account for
Hellen. what they did not rightly understand. This is how they explained their own name and ancestry. The Hellenes were all descended from Hellen, son of Deucalion, in whose time mankind were very wicked. At last Zeus, the chief of all the gods, seeing that they grew worse instead of better, determined to destroy the whole race. He sent a terrible flood of rain, which poured down incessantly over Thessaly, till the whole country was under water. Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha were saved by building an ark, in which they floated for nine days and nights, when they were cast ashore on Mount Parnassus. They waited till the flood had gone down, and then they found that they were quite alone, for every one else was drowned. This made them very sad, and they sacrificed to Zeus, imploring him once more to people the land. Hermes, the messenger of the gods, came in answer to their



ANCIENT HAND-MADE POTS.
(British Museum.)

prayer, and told them to take stones and throw them over their shoulders. Those thrown by Deucalion were turned into men, while Pyrrha's became women. In this way a new race came into the land. Deucalion had a son Hellen, who ruled over the stony race and gave them the name Hellenes. Hellen had three sons, Aeolus, Dorus and Xuthus, and the two sons of Xuthus were Ion and Achaeus. From these the four divisions of the Greeks, Aeolians, Dorians, Ionians and Achaeans took their names; at least this is the explanation the Greeks gave of their own origin.

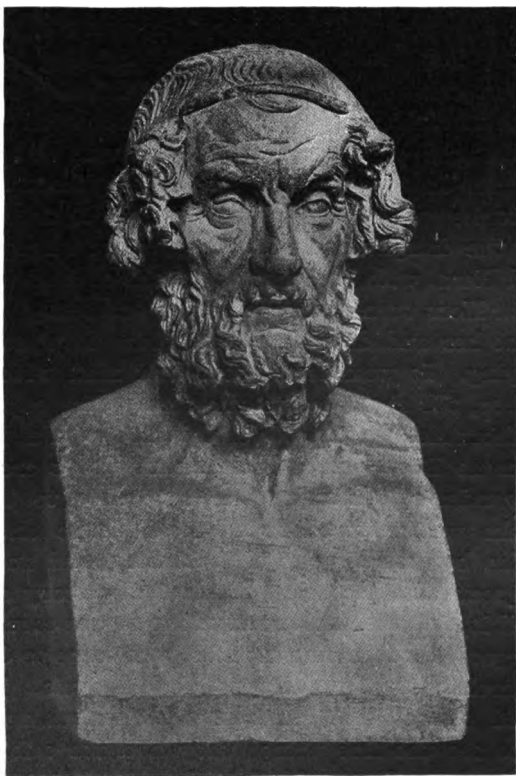
Of course the Greeks knew something about the wonderful past history of the country where they now dwelt; and when they saw the great works that had been built in the olden time, and heard the tales of adventure that had been handed down from generation to generation, it is not surprising that they thought the men of those days were taller and stronger and braver than themselves, and demigods rather than ordinary mortals. The stories of those ancient times were woven into a series of fairy-tales, in which men did wondrous deeds of valour, and gods came down from their beautiful cloud palaces on Mount Olympus and walked on earth with men. These men of the olden time they called heroes. Some were the sons of gods and fought against wicked giants and savage beasts, and had all sorts of strange adventures. There was Heracles, who performed twelve great labours, and after his death was turned into a god; Theseus, who killed the bull-headed Minotaur in the labyrinth of Crete; Perseus, the daring youth who cut off the Gorgon's head; and many others about whom we can read in the old legends of Greece.

Among the adventures of these heroes we often hear of voyages to distant shores, especially eastward to Asia. There must have been constant intercourse

between both sides of the Aegean; but the Hellenes, who were more timid sailors than their predecessors, looked on such voyages as wonderful undertakings. Some of these expeditions were peaceable, but very many were for war-like purposes, since at the time of the great migrations there must have been a good deal of fighting for new lands both in Europe and Asia. This fighting was recorded in a number of legends, and, as time went on, the historians used them to explain the causes of quarrel between the Greeks and their Asiatic neighbours. One of the stories was about Princess Io. In the old legend she was the daughter of King Inachus of Argos, who offended Hera, wife of Zeus and queen of heaven. In her anger Hera turned Io into a cow, and sent a gadfly to plague her and drive her from place to place with its stinging. Io wandered about half mad with pain and terror, till she came to the strait that separates Thrace from Asia Minor. Over this she swam and gave it the name Bosphorus, which means Cow's crossing. After wandering through Asia she came to Egypt, where she was restored to her own shape and had a son who became king of that country, and ancestor of the great hero Heracles. Such is the story as the poets tell it, but later writers say that Io was carried off from Argos by Phoenician traders, who came to Greece with merchandise from Egypt and Assyria. When they had enticed the princess and her maidens on board to see the fine things they had for sale, they put out to sea and got off before they could be pursued. This is how Io was taken away from Europe, and the carrying off of Europa from Asia to Greece was looked on as a sort of reprisal. She was the daughter of Agenor, King of Sidon, and it was Zeus in the form of a bull who stole her away, and swam with her on his back to the island of Crete. This was the poets' tale,

The quarrels
between
Europe and
Asia.

but the historians said that Europa was stolen by Cretan pirates. Afterwards Helle, another Greek princess, was carried away from Greece by a golden ram. Poor Helle never reached Asia at all, for she let go the



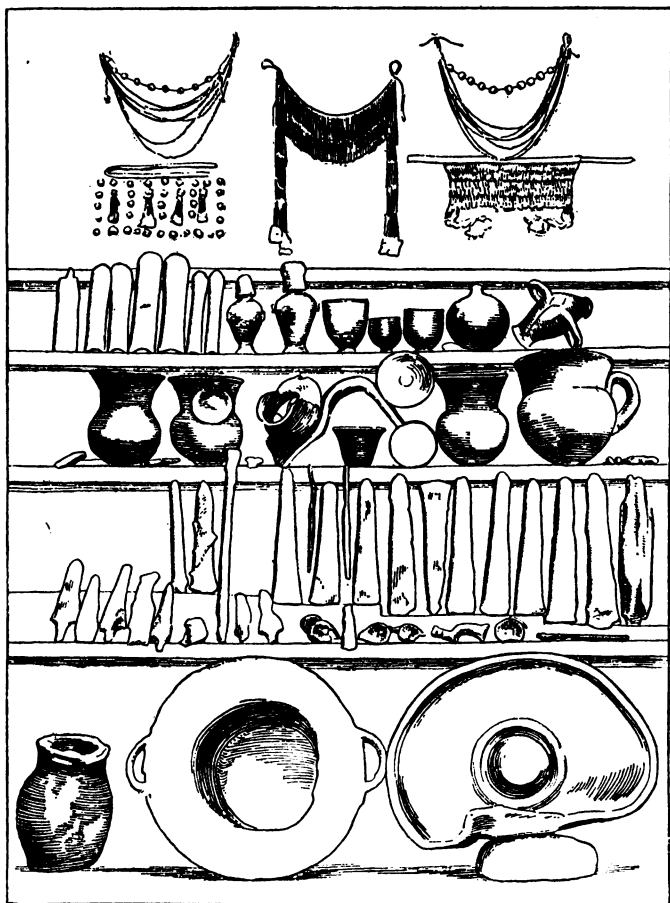
HOMER.
(British Museum.)

ram's horns as they were crossing the strait which we call Dardanelles, though the Greeks called it Hellespont, because Helle was drowned there. As she went away of her own free will with her brother Phrixus to escape from a cruel stepmother, she ought not to be counted

among the stolen princesses. Still a princess from the other side was next brought across; for, many years afterwards, when the Argonauts sailed from Greece to fetch back the ram's fleece from Colchis in Asia, their leader Jason brought back Medea, the king's daughter, and made her his wife. Last of all Paris, an Asiatic prince, son of Priam, king of Troy, carried off Helen, wife of King Menelaus of Sparta. This is the most famous of all the tales, because the great poet Homer told the story of the war that followed, when all the Greek states joined in an expedition to take Troy and bring Helen back to Greece.

This story is told in the *Iliad* of Homer. No one knows exactly when this great poet lived, but probably it was about nine hundred years before the time of Christ. Some scholars Homer's tale of Troy. even think that no such person as Homer ever lived, and that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were collections of old stories which were put together and worked up into complete books as time went on. That is a dispute which is never likely to be settled, so perhaps we may be content to know what the Greeks themselves believed. They said that Homer was the son of Maeon and a native of Chios, and that in his old age he was both blind and poor, and travelled about from place to place begging. Whoever he was he has left us the most wonderful story in the world. The *Iliad* tells of the fighting before Troy. Gods, as well as mortals, take part in it, and all sorts of miraculous adventures befall Greek and Trojan alike. But in spite of all the wonders mixed up in the poem, it has a How ancient Troy was unearthed. foundation of truth, though we have but lately come to know it. About twenty-five years ago, Dr. Schliemann, a German scholar who loved the old tale of Homer, went out to Asia Minor to see if he could find any traces of ancient Troy. After

carefully studying all the descriptions in the *Iliad*, he began to explore the coast to the south of the Dar-



TREASURE FOUND IN THE RUINS OF TROY BY DR. SCHLIEMANN.

danelles, and here about three miles from the sea, on a hill, he actually did find the remains of an old city.

began to dig, and found that underneath this lay
 another city. So he dug yet further, and discovered
 less than seven cities, each built on the ruins of an
 other one. One of these, which seemed larger and more
 important than the others, bore distinct traces of burn-
 ing. Now Homer's Troy was burnt by the Greeks, and
 this discovery gave Dr. Schliemann heart to go on
 exploring the remains of this city. He found among
 the ashes many precious objects, such as cups and vases
 of gold and silver and bronze weapons. There was one
 very curious discovery. A number of these objects
 were found closely packed together in a rectangular
 mass of burnt earth. Close by lay a copper key. Per-
 haps some one had put these things into a wooden chest
 for safety, and then been forced to escape in haste and
 leave his treasures behind. At last after three thousand
 years they have been brought to light to tell of the
 wealth of this ancient city. Since then other discoveries
 have been made, the outline of the old palace has been
 laid bare, and conjecture has become certainty, for the
 earth has been made to give up her secrets and bear
 testimony to the truth of Homer's tale. The "wind-
 swept" citadel of Ilium must have stood on the fortress
 hill of Hissarlik, whence we may yet look over the plain
 bright with gold and crimson flowers and far away
 across the blue waters of the Hellespont to the snowy
 peaks of Thrace. And that hill must have been known
 to the poet who told the story of "Achilles' Wrath,"
 and sang of a war which may yet have been fresh in
 the memory of men.

↓ The cause of the war was the theft of Helen by Paris,
 one of the fifty sons of Priam. Helen was
 the most beautiful woman in Greece, and she The Trojan War.
 had so many suitors that her father could
 not decide between them. At last he said that she
 should choose her own husband; but first he made all

her suitors swear that they would not be offended by her choice, nor seek any quarrel with the fortunate competitor, but be ready to stand by him, if ever he should need their help. When they had all taken this oath, Helen chose Menelaus, king of Sparta, as her husband. They lived together happily for several years, till Paris, attracted by the fame of Helen's beauty, came to Sparta and won her love, and persuaded her to fly with him to Troy. Menelaus now called on his rivals to keep their oath, and help him to fetch Helen back. They were quite ready to obey his summons, and so it happened that the whole of Greece took part in a war which arose out of a private quarrel.✓

<p>The little states of Greece.</p>	<p>this little country, no bigger than Scotland, was divided into a number of separate states.</p>
	<p>These might be quite small, not more than a few square miles in extent, but so long as they kept themselves independent by force of arms each could be a little kingdom. Of course these little states often engaged in little wars with one another, but it was not often that they joined together against a common foe. Therefore this war with Troy, when nearly all the Greek states fought side by side under the leadership of one general, seemed a wonderful event, and it held the first place in the minds of the Greeks till, many centuries later, they fought a far greater war against another eastern nation, the Persians.</p>

Homer gives a list of the Greek states that took part in it. They came from every part of the mainland, from the most northerly region of Thessaly and the south of the Peloponnesus as well as from the islands of Euboea on the east and Ithaca on the west. When their forces were assembled at Aulis in Boeotia, they had more than a thousand ships and a hundred thousand men. We call that a large force to send abroad even

now; and if the Greeks really sent out half that number, it must have been a great war and worthy to be described in Homer's noble verse. Still in considering the numbers engaged and the length of time the siege lasted, we must remember that we know nothing about it except what Homer tells us; and while we enjoy reading his splendid poetry and his spirited accounts of fighting and adventures, we must not inquire too curiously whether it all happened in just this way, but feel content to know that this is what the Greeks themselves believed.

Most of the kings who joined in this expedition led their own forces to battle, for they were more like chiefs of a tribe than real kings such as rule over great countries now. In time of war they were the generals, and in peace they decided the quarrels of their subjects and sacrificed to the gods on behalf of the people. In this way a king was general, judge and priest, and of course this was only possible in a very small kingdom. The number of princes who came to Aulis with their armies was thirty-four; they had all put themselves under the command of Agamemnon, brother of Menelaus, and far the most powerful of all the Greek princes. Under his guidance they set sail for Asia.

Agamemnon
commands
the hosts.

Many heroes fought in the Greek hosts before Troy, and wonderful tales are told of their exploits, but none was so brave and daring as Achilles. It had been foretold that without his aid Troy could not be taken. But the fates, who were more powerful even than the gods, had decreed that either Achilles should win immortal fame in war and die young, or else live a long and useless life in his own country. Of course Achilles, like every noble youth, preferred an early and glorious death, but his mother Thetis would have chosen differently. To pre-

The great
hero,
Achilles.

vent his going to Troy she dressed him as a girl, and begged the king of Scyros to keep him concealed among the princesses in the palace. There she hoped no one would find him and persuade him to go to the war. But Odysseus, the crafty king of Ithaca, discovered his hiding-place, and Achilles for his part was only too glad to put on his armour and join the other princes.

The Trojans too had plenty of brave warriors, and their allies came to help them. The Greeks
 The siege of Troy. did not try to blockade the city by surrounding it, but instead made a camp on the sea-shore close to the place where their ships were



SIEGE OF A CITY, FROM A SILVER VESSEL FOUND AT MYCENÆ.

beached. From this they sallied out now and again, and met their enemies in the plain between the camp and the city. This sort of fighting went on for nine

years, and Achilles with a number of chosen followers made attacks on the allied cities by sea and land, and took and plundered several. In the tenth year a quarrel broke out between Achilles and Agamemnon, and Achilles stayed in his tent, refusing to fight. Then the Trojans under their brave prince Hector were successful for a while, and drove back the Greeks in a great battle and pursued them as far as their ships. They even tried to set these on fire, and had they done that the Greeks would have been in their power, as their means of escape would have been cut off. But when Achilles saw the flames rising from the deck of the first ship, he repented of his anger, and sent his dear friend Patroclus in his own armour to turn the tide of battle. Patroclus drove the Trojans back from the ships, and pursued them as far as the city gates. Here he fell dead, pierced by the sword of Hector.

The death of Patroclus at last roused Achilles to action, for he put on fresh armour and went into battle to avenge his friend. Heedless of everything but revenge he forced a way through the Trojans, and they fell before him like leaves before the wind. So he pressed on, still fighting his way, till he came to the very walls of Troy, and at last he met Hector face to face, and gave him the death he had dealt Patroclus.

The death of
Hector.

No more enthralling battle story has come down to us than this of Homer's. All his heroes seem like real people, and we find ourselves taking sides and choosing favourites as we read. Agamemnon and Menelaus, the great leaders and "shepherds of the people," Odysseus, the crafty "of many devices," Diomedes the bold, Nestor, the wise old man, whose words "flowed like honey from his lips," the Trojan Hector "lord of the glancing helm"—these are as real and living to us as they were to the Greeks of old. Above all we learn to love Achilles,

bravest of warriors, truest of friends, and sternest of foes, who hated a lie "as the gates of hell".

Homer's tale ends with Hector's death and burial.

**The taking of
Troy.** Other poets have told how Achilles fulfilled his destiny, how at last Troy was taken

by the trick of the wooden horse, and Menelaus and Helen met once more in the burning city and were reconciled. Thus ended the first great expedition of the Greeks to the East. Afterwards armies often passed to and fro between Greece and Asia and fought with varying fortunes, till at last the great conqueror Alexander carried his victorious arms into Asia. The hero of the first great war was Achilles, and the hero of the last was Alexander, and all that lies between is the history of Greece.

CHAPTER II.

THE BONDS OF GREEK UNION.

WHEN we read the history of Greece, there is one thing we always have to bear in mind, which makes it different from other histories. It was not one kingdom as it is now, but a collection of separate states. They were not even joined together in a federation like the United States of America, which, though independent in most things, have a common president and congress and army. For all that the Greeks were a nation, for they were bound together by ties which they themselves held sacred.

First there was their language, which was spoken by all the Hellenes, though with certain differences, which we call dialects. They could therefore never feel quite like strangers to one another. The fact that Great Britain and her Colonies and the United States all speak English does a great deal to bring about a friendly feeling between the people of these countries, for people who speak the same language can associate with one another more easily and pleasantly than those who have to learn a new tongue before they can make themselves understood. These countries are separated from one another by oceans and great extents of land, while the Greeks lived side by side in their little country, and had constant intercourse with one another. They called all those who spoke their language Hellenes, and their country Hellas; to all other people they gave the name bar-

The many
states of
Greece.

Their
common
tongue.

barian, which means "unable to speak distinctly". They did not care to learn any other language, for they were content with their own, which was so varied and rich, that it could express every mood and thought of the mind.

Their common race. The second bond was their common race, for though in some parts they had mingled more and in others less with the older inhabitants of the land, they knew but little about this and preferred to trace back their ancestry to Hellen, whom they regarded as their founder.

Their common religion. The third bond, which was stronger than either race or language, was the religion which all Greeks held in common. Zeus, the father of gods and king of men, was the supreme lord of the Hellenes; and all who offered sacrifice in his sanctuaries at Dodona or Olympia were bound together by a tie stronger than any earthly bond. Zeus, the most powerful and glorious of all the heavenly beings, was too far removed from earth to enter into dealings with mortals, but his son Apollo acted as mediator between the lord of Olympus and the dwellers on earth. It was he who declared to mortals as much of the future as they were permitted to know. He was the lord of prophecy, and honoured next to Zeus in all Hellenic lands. Every Greek city had at least one temple dedicated to one or other of the gods, and these were the most beautiful buildings in each town, because it was fitting that the homes of the gods should be fairer and nobler than the houses in which men dwelt. There was always one of these temples that was more important than the rest, and was sacred to the god who was the city's special protector, for each state had its patron god, just as towns and countries now have their patron saint. Athena was the favourite deity of the Athenians; Hera, queen of heaven, was the patron of

Argos; and Sparta worshipped the twin heroes Castor and Pollux. Yet even the temples of these gods were not so highly honoured as the oracles of Apollo, to which men travelled from far and near, from the main-

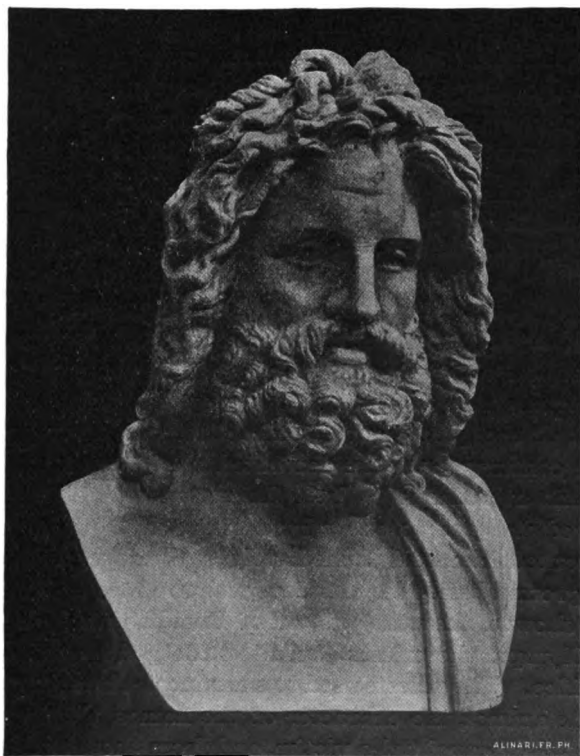


Photo. : Alinari Bros., Florence.

HEAD OF ZEUS.
(Vatican, Rome.)

land and the islands and even the cities of Asia, to learn the will of Zeus. This name "oracle" was given to the answer of the gods and also to the place where it was given. The Greeks believed

The oracles.

that men were not entirely cut off from communion with the gods, but that, by links in a chain, they could reach up to them and even win the ear of Zeus himself. Apollo, who understood his father's will, could reveal it when he pleased, but there were certain places more favoured than others which the god himself had chosen for his oracles, and certain persons who, because they were specially holy or for some other reason, had the gift of interpreting the meaning of Apollo. Such were the priests and priestesses of Delphi, who had been trained to know and explain the divine will.

Zeus too had his oracles, where he gave answers by signs, although he never spoke directly to mortals. At Olympia, in Elis, a splendid temple was built to him, and in it was placed a gold and ivory statue of the god. He was represented seated on a throne, holding in one hand an image of victory and in the other a sceptre. This was the work of the great sculptor Pheidias, who lived in the fifth century B.C., and decorated the great temple of Athena at Athens. When the statue was finished he prayed the god to show by a sign whether the work contented him, and immediately a thunderbolt fell to the ground beside it. As Zeus was the lord of thunder this showed that the prayer of Pheidias was granted. At Olympia the priests consulted the god by means of sacrifice. The priests used to examine the interior parts of the animal, the character of the flames, the moment when they caught the victim, and from these and other signs they declared the god's will. At Dodona in Epirus, the oldest of all the sanctuaries, answers were given by the murmuring of the wind in the trees, the cooing of doves, and the sound made by striking a brass bowl.

Most of the oracles were under Apollo's care, and the most famous was at Delphi. In the hilly district of Phocis, where three springs gush forth from a rocky

cleft in Mount Parnassus, stood the spot which Apollo himself had chosen as his most favoured sanctuary. Here once upon a time, men said, had stood the oracle of Gaea, one of the ancient deities whom Zeus and the younger gods dethroned. It was guarded by a fierce dragon with huge, glittering scales and forked tongue and, until this beast was

Oracles of
Apollo.

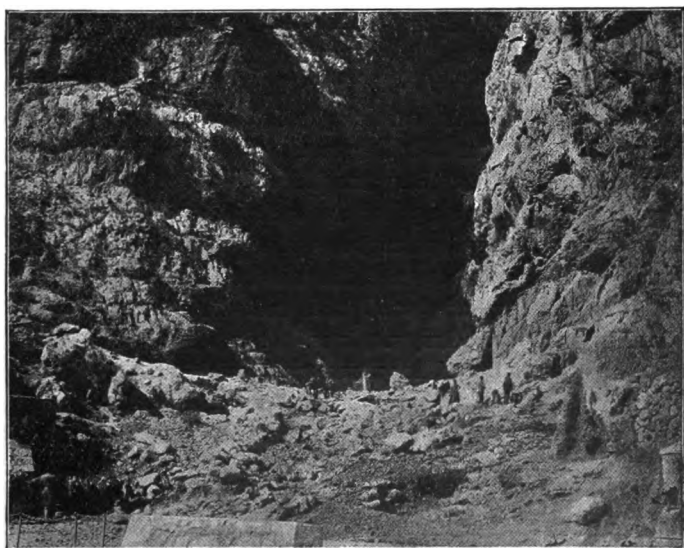


Photo. : English Photo, Co., Athens.

DELPHI : THE CASTALIAN FOUNTAIN.

overpowered, the god could not set up his laurel hut and establish his oracle here. Apollo and the Python, as the dragon was called, fought for three days, and victory fell to the god. His song of triumph, which the Greeks called pæan, was afterwards sung at their great victories. Close to the scene of the fight was a cleft in the rock from which rose a strong, overpowering vapour. The temple was built over this in such a way

that it formed part of the inner sanctuary, where stood the statue of Apollo and the altar on which burned the sacred fire, fed with branches of pine and never extinguished. Close by was a curious relic, a round stone which the Greeks called the middle of the earth, because Zeus had sent two eagles from opposite ends of the earth and they had met together here. The inner roof of the temple was covered with laurels, which were sacred to Apollo, and the outer court was adorned with beautiful sculpture, representing the fight with the dragon and the wonderful deeds performed by gods and heroes. Persons who wished to consult the oracle might not enter the sanctuary until certain rites had been performed. On the appointed days a priestess took her seat on a three-legged stool called a tripod, which was placed over a cleft. As the vapour rose she was seized with a sort of frenzy, growing quite wild with excitement and uttering strange sounds and mysterious words. The priests who stood by took note of her utterances, which they believed to be inspired by the god, and put them into verses, which they gave as answers to the suppliant. These answers were often crabbed and hard to understand, for the god would not make his meaning too plain. Only those who came to his shrine with a pure heart and righteous desire might hope to receive a true answer; those who cherished any evil thought in their minds received an oracle that helped to work their ruin. Thus when Croesus, king of Lydia, sent to ask the oracle whether he would do right in invading Persia, the oracle replied that, if he crossed the river Halys, which was the boundary between the two countries, he would cause the overthrow of a mighty monarchy. Croesus thought it was the destruction of Persia that was foretold, and no longer hesitated to begin the war, but he was defeated

The temple at
Delphi.

Croesus and
the oracle.

himself and taken prisoner, and the kingdom that was overthrown was his own. Thus the prophecy was fulfilled, but not in the way he expected, and he was punished for his audacity. These priestesses must have had some strange power that taught them what was happening at a distance, and perhaps even what was still in the future. When this same Croesus wanted to test all the oracles, and sent messengers to different places, bidding them wait till the hundredth day after they had set out, and then all at the same hour ask the oracle what the king was doing at that moment, the oracle at Delphi gave this strange reply:—

“ I can number the grains of sand and the limits of ocean,
 Read the thoughts of the dumb and hear the voice of the silent.
 Unto my sense there is come the powerful scent of a tortoise
 Boiled in a vessel of brass, and flesh of lamb is beside it.
 Brass is the cover above, and brass is the vessel beneath it.”

Croesus had tried to find an occupation that no one was likely to guess, and at this time he was engaged in boiling a lamb and a tortoise in a brazen cauldron, so the answer was quite correct. Some years later, when the Persians were invading Greece, the Athenians sent to Delphi to ask what they should do, and were told to put their trust in wooden walls. Some persons took this literally, and began to put up wooden palisades round the citadel, but others guessed that the god was bidding them take to their ships. They put to sea with their wives and children, and sailed away to the island of Salamis, where a great battle was fought by sea and the Persians were put to flight. So the god's advice was good, though it was not easy to understand, and the Athenians were saved by following it.

As time went on the importance of Delphi increased. Kings and cities sent splendid presents to the temple, and its treasury was filled with statues and vases and tripods, many being

The League
 of Amphic-
 tions.



CHARIOTEER FROM DELPHI,
(Louvre, Paris.)

of pure gold. So it grew richer, and its fame spread further and further, until the Greeks came to look on it as a national sanctuary, and several states even joined together to fight for its independence when a neighbouring city tried to claim a right over it. It was put under the charge of a special board, whose business was to protect the interests of the sanctuary, and to this the twelve chief states of Greece sent delegates twice a year. It was called the League of Amphictions, which means "dwellers around," because neighbouring states joined together to form such unions; but the Greeks as usual had a story to explain the name, and said it was so called after Amphiction, brother of Hel-

len, who founded this league. In spring the Amphictions met at Delphi, in autumn at the temple of Demeter near Thermopylae. They were solemnly pledged to defend the oracle against every attack. "If any one shall plunder the property of the god, or shall be cognizant thereof or shall take treacherous council against the things in the temple, we will punish him with foot and hand and voice, and by every means in our power." So ran their oath. In time of war they had to see that no harm was done to the sacred precincts. When the temple was burnt down they had to collect money to rebuild it, and they also had the superintending of the Pythian Games celebrated at Delphi in memory of Apollo's victory over the Python. The states which were thus joined together for religious purposes also entered into a sort of political treaty with each other. "We will not destroy any Amphictionic town, we will not cut off any Amphictionic town from running water": this mutual undertaking gave them a sort of brotherly feeling, which was very useful at a time when the little states were so constantly engaged in fighting one another.

In this way Delphi grew to be even more than a religious centre, and it became the custom to consult Apollo about all the chief events of life. Whenever a party of Greeks sailed away from their own shores to found a colony in distant lands, they sent to ask Apollo's blessing on the enterprise, and their first act on reaching their new home was to erect an altar to him there. Without Apollo's guidance they could not hope for prosperity.

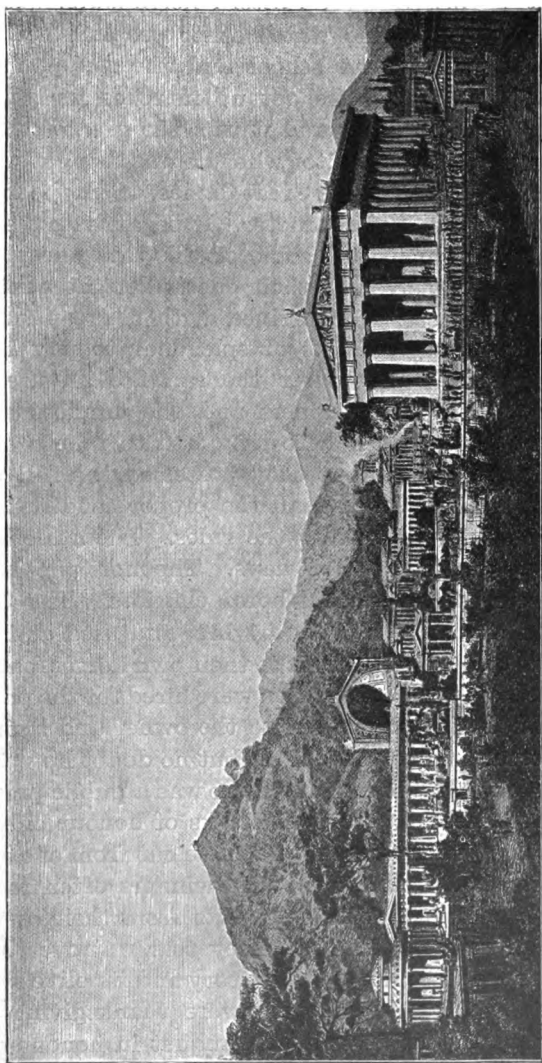
Another duty that fell to the priests at Delphi was the charge of the calendar. All the seasons were sacred to the gods, and the proper division of the year was into festivals, just as we reckon by Easter, Whitsuntide and Christmas. The

Apollo as the protector of colonists.

The sacred calendar.

summer was sacred to Apollo and his sister Artemis, and the winter to Dionysos, the wine-god, in whose honour all the gayest festivals were celebrated. It was the custom to keep these great feasts in different places; and some were attended only by the people who lived there, while others were so popular that men travelled from different parts of the country to join in keeping them.

Of these the most celebrated were the Olympic Games, which were so important that the Greeks reckoned their time by Olympiads, as they called the interval between two of these festivals. **The Olympic Games.** The Olympic Games were held every four years, and the one with which the reckoning began, though by no means the earliest, took place in 776 B.C. This was only a few years before the founding of Rome in 753, the date from which the Romans reckoned their calendar. This festival was at first probably nothing more than a great sacrifice in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, to which delegates were sent from the neighbouring states. When so many persons met together it was natural that they should celebrate the occasion with songs and banquets and those gymnastic contests and trials of skill which all Hellenes enjoyed. More and more attention was paid to these, until they became the chief object of the gathering, and competitors came from all parts of Greece to try for a prize at the Great Games. They were held in a plain near Pisa in Elis, through which ran the river Alpheus. Here stood the great temple of Zeus, surrounded on all sides by olive trees, and the race-courses were not far off. There was one for foot-racing, and one for horse, or rather chariot racing, and spaces were marked out all round for the spectators. The Greeks were fond of all forms of exercise, and were always ready to go into training for races or other contests; and this



OLYMPIA, WITH THE TEMPLES RESTORED.

greatly surprised their Eastern neighbours, who preferred to sit still and watch other people exert themselves. The boys at school and the young men at the public gymnasiums got up matches for running, boxing and wrestling, and it was the greatest honour for a successful competitor when he was thought worthy to try his chances at the Great Games. Still the festival never lost its sacred character. It began with a solemn sacrifice at which the people of Elis took the place of honour and received as their guests delegates from all parts of Greece, who arrived with a great train of attendants and all sorts of splendour to pay honour to Olympian Zeus. After the sacrifice all the competitors with their trainers and the umpires met in the court-house, and here they had to take a solemn oath to the effect that they possessed the full rights of citizens, had fulfilled all the proper conditions, and were ready to submit to the rules. The athletic contests took up three whole days. The most popular was the racing between four-horse chariots. The Greeks took great pride in their driving, and used at first to play the part of charioteer to their own horses, but later the fashion changed and men were hired for the purpose. As with us the prize went to the owner and trainer of the horses, not to the driver, but no doubt he was well rewarded. On the last day there was a public presentation of prizes. These were marks of honour only, and were always wreaths of wild olive cut from one special tree in the sacred grove. The winners often received gifts of money or other presents from their own city on their return, but what they really strove so hard for was the mere honour of victory and its olive symbol. After the prize-giving there were thanksgiving sacrifices, and last of all came a banquet in honour of the victors, when they were praised in song, and wine flowed freely in their honour.

These Olympic Games were the greatest of the festivals common to all Hellenes, and as any free-born Greek might take part in them, so long as there was no stain on his character, while slaves and foreigners might not even be onlookers, they helped to remind the Greeks of their common brotherhood.

Other festivals of this kind were also held at different places. At Delphi the Pythian Games were celebrated in honour of Apollo, and one of the events was a musical performance with dumb show which was supposed to represent the fight between the god and the dragon. The Isthmian Games took place at Corinth in the pine-grove sacred to the sea-god Poseidon, and the Nemean were held in honour of Zeus at the place where Heracles strangled the lion. But the festival at Olympia was the oldest and continued to be the most important. It began before the beginning of Greek history, and it continued after its end; for when Greece had lost her freedom and become a province of the Roman Empire, the Games were celebrated by the conquerors. Since 1896 athletic and gymnastic contests have been held in different countries every four years, in which people from all parts of Europe and America take part, and in memory of the old times they are called "Olympic Games".

The Pythian,
Isthmian and
Nemean
Games.

This love of sport and bodily exertion was a characteristic of the Greeks that marked them off from their Eastern neighbours. Another was their intense love of liberty and their dislike of absolute government. Even when a state was governed by a king, he could not do just as he pleased, but was expected to consult the people on all matters of importance. This was unusual in ancient times, though it is very common in modern Europe, and especially in England where there is what we call a limited monarchy. Whenever a Greek prince began to

Greek love of
(1) Exercise;
(2) Freedom;

usurp too much power, and act as though he held office for his own pleasure rather than for the good of his people, they would join together against him, and drive him out. So it came about that nearly all the Greek states abolished their kings, and governed through assemblies of the people and elected magistrates. They were the first nation who tried the plan of letting the people govern itself, and it is from them that the word democracy, which means "power of the people," has come down to us. In fact almost every kind of government was tried by one or other of the Greek states,



CHARIOT RACE.

(From a vase painting in the Museum at Berlin.)

and in this as in so many other things, the people who came after could learn many useful lessons from them.

- A third peculiarity of the Greeks was their love of beauty, and in this too they have taught the moderns many lessons. They built the most beautiful temples and carved the noblest statues the world has ever seen. Their language was richer, and more musical than any other spoken either before or since, and men still read their poems and histories, and try in vain to write others as good.
- (3) **Beauty.**

Of course all true Greeks loved their country dearly, and they had a great deal of what we now call public

spirit. In times of war and trouble rich citizens would come forward of their own accord to supply ships or equip troops for the states. In times of peace it was considered an honour to provide the money for performances at the theatre, which were held in connexion with the festivals of the gods; and the men who helped to make these more beautiful were honouring their religion as well as serving their fellow-citizens. In all things the Greeks were taught to think that their city or state was of the first importance, and their private concerns and their families of no account when compared with their country. It was this free patriotic spirit, and the wider life it brought with it that made the Greeks a civilised people, while all around them were yet in a sense barbarous.

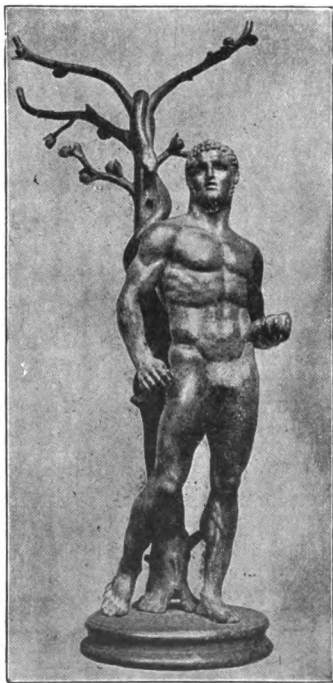
CHAPTER III.

LYCURGUS, THE GREAT SPARTAN LAW-GIVER.

The ancient legends of Argos. BETWEEN the heroic age of legend and real history lies a long period of which we know very little except where the old tales help us to piece events together. There are many stories about the changes in the southern peninsula, then called the Peloponnesus, though its name now is Morea. Here in some distant age the great house of Atreus to which Agamemnon belonged, ruled the domain of Argos and a good deal of the rest of the peninsula. Homer often speaks of the warriors who went against Troy as Argives, because it was the king of Argos who led the army, and sometimes he calls them Achaeans from the tribe which in his day had most power in the Peloponnesus. The glory of Argos and the Achaeans belongs to the tales which the Greek poets celebrated in their songs. But in historic times it was another state, Sparta, and another tribe, the Dorians, that took the first rank in the Peloponnesus.

The sons of Heracles. The old legends tell us of the twelve labours that Heracles accomplished at the bidding of his kinsman Eurystheus. It was the will of the gods that he should perform these labours, instead of ruling over the kingdom that was his by right, and that, not till life was ended, should he reap the reward of his toil. After the death of Heracles, Eurystheus began to persecute his sons, and at last

drove them out of his kingdom. They fled to Athens, where they were kindly received. Eurystheus actually raised an army to pursue them and invaded Attica, but in the fighting he and all his sons were killed. Hyllus, the eldest son of Heracles, was now the rightful heir, and should have been king over Argos. But he was an exile and, though the Athenians gave him some help, he was not strong enough to conquer the kingdom by force. A large army had collected at the Isthmus to stop his advance, and the two sides entered on a parley, in which it was arranged that Hyllus should fight in single combat any champion whom the hostile force might select. If Hyllus killed his opponent, he should take his kingdom; but, if he was defeated, he and his descendants must give up all claim to their inheritance for another hundred years. Hyllus was killed in the fight, and his descendants faithfully kept the agreement. Aegimus, son of Dorus, a grandson of Hellen, and chief of the Dorian tribe who lived on the north coast of the Corinthian Gulf, gave them a home out of gratitude for the help Heracles had once given him against the Lapithae



HERACLES.
(Bronze Statuette, British Museum.)

When the hundred years were ended, the three great-grandsons of Hyllus, Aristodemus, Cresphontes and Temenus, set out to recover their inheritance with the help of an army of Dorians. As they decided to go by sea, and not by the isthmus, their first business was to build ships, and this they did

The coming of the Dorians, known as the "Return of the Heraclids"

at a port on the Corinthian Gulf called Naupactus, which means the place of ship-building. Before they left here many things happened. First Aristodemus, one of the three brothers, died; then they were attacked by a pestilence, and the ships shattered by a storm. These misfortunes were sent as a punishment for killing a prophet who had come into the camp and foretold unlucky events. In these difficulties Temenus, the eldest brother, went to Delphi, to ask the god's advice. The answer was that they must take as their guide a man with three eyes. As he was travelling back, wondering where he could find such a monster, he chanced to meet a man with one eye riding back from Elis. If the animal and its rider might be looked upon as one person, then this one eye and the mule's two made up the three. This seemed the nearest they could get to the oracle's directions, so they asked this man to be their guide. Luckily he knew the country well, and could be of great service to them. They now refitted their ships, crossed over to the opposite shore at the narrowest point of the strait, and began their march southward. After a time they fell in with an army led by Tisamenus, son of Orestes, the most powerful of all the Peloponnesian kings. In this battle the Dorians were successful, and the greater part of the peninsula fell into their hands.

They now arranged to divide the land between Temenus, Cresphontes, and the twin sons of Aristodemus, but first of all they showed their gratitude to

Oxylus, their one-eyed guide, by giving up the fertile plain of Elis for him and his descendants to rule over. Then they drew lots for the territories of Argos, Sparta and Messenia. Argos fell to Temenus, Sparta to the sons of Aristodemus, and Messenia to Cresphontes. They then offered sacrifices to the gods at three different altars, and on each appeared a sign sent from heaven. Temenus saw a toad, the sons of Aristodemus a serpent, and Cresphontes a fox. The soothsayers declared that the animals were symbols of the countries that each was to rule over. The toad, which is a slow and stationary creature that does not go far afield, showed that Argos would not extend its dominion beyond its own borders; the serpent, a dangerous beast, always ready to attack, was a symbol of courage in aggression, while the fox was the type of cunning. The history of the three countries proved the accuracy of this forecast.

The division
of the Peloponnesus.

This expedition the Greeks called the return of the Heraclids, and they told the story to show how the Dorians got their power in the south of Greece. It was not a conquest, they said, but a return of the rightful owners to whom the Dorians had helped restore the land. The kings of these states were very proud of their descent from the ancient kings of the Peloponnesus, and took care to call themselves Achaeans, though they ruled over a Dorian people. We may be sure that this story, which the Greeks handed down and themselves believed, refers to some event that actually happened, though not quite as they described it. Very likely the Dorian invasion was a much slower process than it appears in this story, and the invaders did not come all at once, but gradually made their way, as the Saxons did in England, being pushed out of their lands by other intruders from the north. In this way they contrived at last to get hold of the best and most fertile lands in the

Peloponnesus, from which they ousted the old Achaean inhabitants.

At first Argos was the most important of the three states, just as it had been in the old days, but after a time Sparta came to the front, and conquered more and more land, till it became the strongest of all. The Lacedaemonians, as the people who had settled here were called, had great difficulties to contend with. The land was shut in on all sides by mountains, which made it hard to extend their conquest, and for a long time Sparta was disturbed by the quarrels of the kings, for the custom of having two kings had continued even after the death of the sons of Aristodemus. The state was weak and divided, and could not make head against its enemies, until a great man arose among the Spartans, who changed the whole plan of government and made it the strongest, instead of the weakest, of the Dorian states.

This man was Lycurgus, brother of King Polydectes, after whose death every one expected him to seize the throne. But Lycurgus only took the regency till his brother's child should be old enough to succeed; and he would have cared for him and brought him up to be a good man, had not some of the people sought a quarrel with him, saying that he wanted to be king himself. Lycurgus therefore thought it would be better to leave Sparta for a while, and set out on a series of travels to distant places.

First of all he went to the island of Crete, where he was much struck with the excellence of the laws and the hardihood and simplicity of the people. Next he passed on to Asia, and here he found as much luxury and extravagance as there was frugality among the Cretans. After this he went to Egypt, which at that time was more civilised than any other country, and there he learned all manner of wisdom. He was

filled with admiration for the arrangements of the state, and especially the division of the people into classes according to their occupations.

Some years were spent in these travels; and then the Spartans, who had begun to realise the goodness and wisdom of Lycurgus, now that he was no longer with them, sent messages begging him to return. Before he did so he went to Delphi, to ask a blessing on his enterprise. Without waiting for him to put any question, the priestess addressed him in these words:—

“Unto this temple, abounding in treasure, Lycurgus, thou comest,
Dear unto Zeus and the gods, the lords of Olympian dwelling,
What to proclaim thee, divining, I know not—a god or a mortal?
Yea, but a god I believe I may rather call thee, Lycurgus.”

When he asked whether he would be permitted to establish good laws in Sparta, she answered that his laws would be the best in the world. With this encouragement Lycurgus returned home to begin his great task of remodelling the state and its laws.

First of all it was necessary that the quarrels of the kings should stop, and the best way to effect this was to limit their power. In this His laws.
Lycurgus had the authority of Apollo himself, for he had been told at Delphi to let the two kings divide the rule at Sparta, but that a senate and an assembly of the people were also to take part in the government. The Senate was to have thirty members. The two The Senate
kings always belonged to it, and the twenty-eight other members were elected from the citizens over sixty years of age. It was thought that the oldest men must be the wisest, because they had gained most experience of the world. These senators were elected in a very odd way. Some persons chosen for the purpose were shut up in a room close to the place where the people had their assembly. Each candidate walked

silently through the assembly, one after another in order according to lot, and the voters cheered the men whom they wished to vote for. The listeners could hear the shouts without seeing the candidates; and they noted down on their writing-tablets the order and loudness of the cheers, so that it might be known afterwards who had most votes. The candidate who had been greeted with the loudest acclamations was then declared duly elected. He was crowned with a garland, and went to give thanks to the gods followed by an admiring train of young men and women.

The Senate was a very important body, and the highest court of law, and even the kings might be tried before it. It discussed all matters of state, before the people were called on to give their decision. The Assembly was a much larger body. All fully-qualified citizens who had reached the age of thirty might attend its meetings; it met once a month at full moon, and could be called at other times if there was any matter of importance to vote on. It met out of doors, perhaps because there was no hall big enough to hold so many, or, as was thought, because the god himself had chosen the exact spot, near the bridge where the Oeneus fell into the Eurotas. The Assembly was not allowed to discuss any business, but only to vote Yes or No about matters which had already been talked over in the Senate. In this way all the people had a voice in public affairs without spending an unnecessary amount of time over them.

Still this did not make Sparta very different from other Greek states, for most of them had at that time a King, a Council of old men, and a General Assembly. Afterwards some other magistrates were appointed at Sparta, called Ephors. There were five of them, and they had a great deal of power. They kept the Senate from doing just

The Ephors
(instituted
long after
Lycurgus).

what it pleased, and sometimes interfered even with the private life of the kings. The citizens chose them from the boldest of their number, for an ephor must be afraid of no one if he was to do his duty properly, since he might have to thwart the will of a king or a senator. As time went on, the ephors became the most powerful persons at Sparta; but this was a long while after Lycurgus.

The two things Lycurgus was most anxious to do were to stop the disastrous quarrels of the kings, and to make Sparta the strongest military power in Greece. He wished to bring up every Spartan as a soldier, and to train all the people in simple habits, so that they should prefer war to peace. During his travels he had had opportunities of comparing the customs of different lands, and had come to see that riches are sometimes a curse rather than a blessing. The poorest nations are often the best and bravest; and in countries where some people are very rich, there are always others who are terribly poor. Lycurgus would have liked to divide the property equally among the people, so that there should be neither rich nor poor; but he could not do that because, however fair such a division might be, one man would spend more than another, even if all earned the same, so that there must always be a distinction between rich and poor. As it would have been useless to divide up the money, Lycurgus tried to make it of little value. In those days there was no coined money in Greece, and people used rings of gold and silver, or bronze and iron bars of a fixed weight. Lycurgus allowed only iron to be used at Sparta, because this was the cheapest and commonest of the metals; and as a great weight of this had only a small value, the use of money was made very inconvenient. So that these bars might not be used for the ordinary purposes of iron, they were thrown into

Spartan
poverty and
simplicity.

vinegar when hot, and this made them brittle and impossible to work with the hammer. Of course no other state would accept such money, and it was difficult for Spartans to buy the produce of other countries. This helped to keep them simple in their habits, for they were not as skilful as the other Greeks in making beautiful furniture and working in gold and silver, and they learned to do without everything that could not be made with the simplest tools, since no others were allowed them. Thus, as time went on and the other Greeks added to the comforts and luxuries of life, the Spartans remained a much simpler people than their neighbours.

The division of lands Sparta had been gradually conquering the country all round the city, and taking the land away from the old inhabitants. This gave Lycurgus an opportunity of making a fresh division of lands, which helped to make the property of citizens more equal. He made nine thousand lots of the Spartan land, and thirty thousand of the rest of Laconia. Every lot was capable of producing about seventy bushels of barley for each man and his household and twelve for every woman of the family, besides a certain amount of wine and oil. Of course the number of these lots cannot have remained unchanged, as they would be handed down from one generation to another, and some persons would have larger families to provide for than others, but there seem to have been laws to prevent any man from getting too much property into his own hands, and thus acquiring too much wealth and power.

The common meals. Even those Spartans who were richer than others had not much use for their wealth, since they could not live as they pleased. By the laws of Lycurgus their whole plan of life was regulated for them. All Spartan citizens took their meals at common dining tables, and ate only such food as the

law permitted. No healthy person was allowed to dine at home on any pretence whatever; even the kings dined at the common table, and were only distinguished by having a double portion served to them, which they shared with some brave man whom they wished especially to honour. Each of the tables was arranged for about fifteen men, and these took turns in supplying the food. Every member of the mess sent monthly one bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two and a half of figs, and a little money for buying fish and meat. Porridge, soup, bread, cheese and wine made up their chief food, and there was a particular kind of black broth for which Sparta was famous, which the other Greeks thought very disagreeable. When any Spartan went hunting he always sent part of his booty to the public table, and when he offered a sacrifice he sent some of the meat. It was the custom for the same party always to dine together, and when a new-comer wished to join a table, the other members voted for or against him. They made little balls of bread which they threw into an urn, and those who wanted to vote against the candidate flattened the bread before throwing it in. One flat ball (or as we should say one black ball) was enough to exclude a man, for they thought it right that all who dined at the same table should be on friendly terms with one another. The Spartans, like all other Greeks, took their dinner in the evening after the work of the day was over. When the meal was finished they used to sit for a while chatting over their wine, which they mixed with a good deal of water as it was exceedingly strong, and then they went home in the dark. Their streets were unlighted like our country roads, and they were not allowed to carry torches or lanterns, because they were to get accustomed to walking easily in the darkest night, as they would often have to do it in war.

**Spartan
infants.**

The most important of Lycurgus regulations concerned the children. They were to be trained so that they might become brave soldiers and loyal citizens. The whole of their education was under the care of the state. As soon as a boy was born he was carried to the meeting-place of his tribe, and there the old men examined the child to see whether it was healthy or not. If it was strong and well-proportioned they let it live; but if it seemed weakly and deformed it was taken to a cavern on Mount Taygetus, and there left to perish. Sickly children, they thought, could be of no use to their country, and men who could not serve their country were not wanted at Sparta.

Up to the age of seven boys and girls were left at home in charge of the women, who did all they could to make them strong and hardy. A Spartan baby had its first bath in wine instead of water, which was supposed to strengthen the vigorous and kill the sickly. Nor was it tightly swaddled like other Greek babies, but allowed to use its little limbs freely from the first. When they were quite small they were taught to be brave and not cry in the dark or when they were left alone, and to eat anything that was given them, for dainty and cowardly children could not grow up into good and useful men and women.

The boys.

When they were seven years old the State undertook the care of the boys. They were formed into little companies, each of which was in the charge of an older lad. All Spartans were divided into classes according to age; first there were the "Boys" from seven to eighteen, next the "Youths" from eighteen to twenty, and the "Young Men" from twenty to thirty. After the age of thirty they belonged to the class of Equals and were free and independent citizens, though of course subject to the laws of the state.

Spartan boys were early taught to endure hardships. They wore very little clothing even in winter, their food was simple and often scanty, and their bodies were trained by severe exercise. Their only bed was a couch made of reeds, which they had to gather with their own hands and without knives from the banks of the Eurotas, and on this in winter they were allowed to strew a little thistle-down. As they grew older the discipline became more severe. Every year all the older boys were publicly whipped before one of the altars of Artemis, not because they had done any wrong, but in order to teach them to bear pain. It was a point of honour to hold out as long as possible without complaining, and boys even died under the lash rather than cry out for mercy.

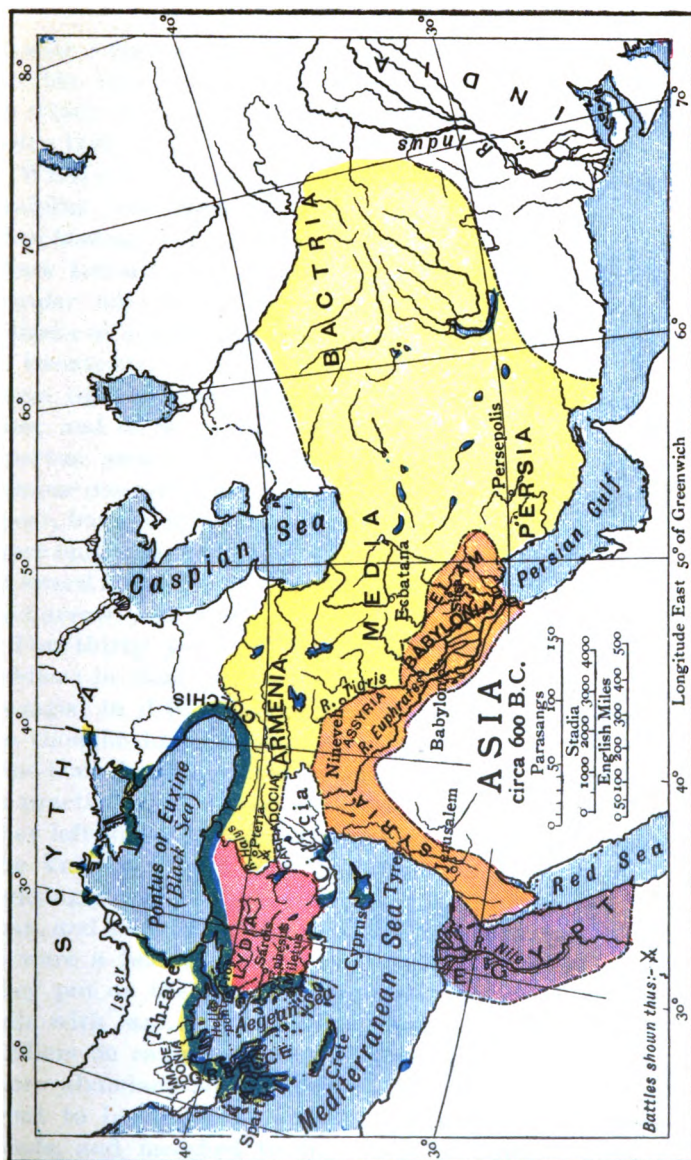
Spartan children learned to read and write and perhaps do a little arithmetic, but this was the least important part of their education. Their
education. Most of their time was spent in gymnastic exercises. They learned to run and jump and box and wrestle, and engage in sham battles where even kicking and biting were allowed as well as all the more regular methods. A Spartan boy might fight in any way he pleased, and no one blamed him so long as he got the best of it. The boys were even allowed to steal and actually encouraged to do so, for this practice might come in usefully in time of war. They were only punished when they were caught in the act, and this not because it was wrong to steal, but because they had done it clumsily. There is a story of a Spartan boy who stole a young fox, and hid it under his cloak, and even when the creature scratched and bit him he bore the pain rather than cry out and be detected. They were also allowed to hunt, and in this way to add to their scanty meals, and no doubt hunger made them good hunters.

Each company of boys was under its captain, chosen from the class of Young Men and also under the supervision of the older men. The captain superintended the boys' games and exercises, and trained them to be useful by doing little services for him. He would also practise their wits by making them hold discussions and answer questions, and give their reasons for the answers. The Spartans thought people should learn to express themselves well and in as few words as possible. This manner of speaking was called laconic from their country Laconia, and differed much from that of the Athenians, who admired long and elaborate speeches.

Of course the lives of women were very different, though even they were to some extent under the control of the State. The girls were

The girls and women.

formed into companies like the boys; for though they could not be soldiers, Lycurgus thought it important that they should be strong and healthy and worthy to become the mothers of soldiers. Spartan girls learned to run and wrestle, and throw quoits and darts just as their brothers did. When they grew up they had the charge of the household. This was very important, since the men were so much away either fighting or attending the assembly or the public tables, while the women took their meals at home and had charge of the property. These Spartan women were brave and noble; they encouraged their husbands and sons to do fine actions; and the mothers told their sons, when they went to war, to return with their shields or upon them. The shields were so heavy that a man who wanted to run away must first get rid of his shield; and therefore to return without it was considered a disgrace. Those who died in battle were carried home on their shields. Nowhere else in Greece were women held in such honour as at Sparta; some Greeks thought they had too much power, and once a



Walker & Cockerell sc.
Lydian Kingdom

Greek Colonies

Median Kingdom

Babylonian Kingdom

Egyptian Kingdom

woman from another city said to a Spartan lady, "You are the only women in the world that rule the men"; to which she replied: "We are the only women that bring forth men".

When a Spartan citizen reached the age of thirty his training was supposed to be finished. He then became an Equal, had to contribute his share towards the common mess, and was liable for regular military service till the age of sixty. The citizens of military age were grouped in little divisions of twenty-five, bound together by a common oath; and these little divisions were again grouped into larger ones, and in this way the six regiments of which the Spartan army was composed, were made up. Their armour consisted of shield, cuirass, greaves, sword and spear, but the slaves who followed them into the field wore only a protection of skin or leather, and instead of sword and lance, they fought with darts, stones, bows and arrows and slings.

For thirty years of his life every Spartan was a soldier; in time of peace when he was not engaged in drill or other military matters, he thought himself entitled to leisure. No true-born Spartan would condescend to till the ground or practise any trade or handicraft. Work of this kind they left to slaves and the conquered population. Like the knights of the Middle Ages, they thought that fighting was the only occupation suitable for a gentleman, and they hailed the prospect of a war as though it were a holiday. Then discipline was relaxed, and they put on their best clothes and dressed their long hair with care, and instead of eating simpler food, as soldiers on campaign usually expect to do, theirs was more abundant and luxurious than at home. They went to battle as to a feast with garlands on their heads, and marched to the sound of flutes. One of

The Equals

The Spartans
a nation of
soldiers.

the kings led the forces, and his bodyguard was composed of men who had won prizes at the Olympic Games. They valued this honour even more than the crown of wild olive.

The Spartan citizens Plutarch, who wrote the lives of many Greeks and Romans and greatly admired the Spartans, says that "no man was at liberty to live as he pleased, the city being like one great camp, where all had their stated allowance, and knew their public charge, each man concluding that he was born, not for himself, but for his country". Such indeed was the life led by the true-born Spartans, or Spartiates, as they called themselves. But all around lived the old inhabitants of the country, whom they did not put on an equality with themselves. These persons

The Provincials. whom they called Perioeci or Provincials, remained freemen, and became citizens, not of Sparta, but of one of the hundred townships of Laconia, and managed their own affairs under the superintendence of Spartan governors. They were not subject to the Spartan discipline, and they might cultivate the land and do manual work which was forbidden to the Spartiates, but they were also soldiers, who carried lance and shield and formed an important part of the Spartan army.

These Provincials were free men, and though they fought for the Spartans they were not expected to work for them. This was done by the people
The Helots. called Helots or Captives, who were like serfs, living on the farms belonging to the Spartiates. They cultivated these for their masters, supplying them every year with a fixed quantity of corn and oil and wine. Beyond this amount they were allowed to keep what was left, so that they could support themselves as well as their masters from the land. They were not slaves, for they could not be bought and sold, but still they

had to do the work of servants in the houses of the citizens. They also had to accompany them to battle, but they were an inferior class in the army, and some of them served as attendants on the Spartans and Provincials, carrying their shields and baggage, and acting as camp servants. The Spartans treated the helots with great cruelty, even killing them when they thought they were getting numerous enough to be dangerous, for the helots hated the Spartans so much that people used to say they would eat a Spartan raw if only they got the chance. All the same the helots were very useful, for without them the citizens could not have given so much of their time to public affairs, and been able to spare the rest for that dignified idleness which they looked upon as their special privilege. —

It was thanks to these laws and arrangements of Lycurgus that Sparta became the first military power in Greece, and though, of course, time must have brought changes with it, there were always fewer of these at Sparta than anywhere else, because the city honoured the memory of Lycurgus, whom it looked upon as its true founder.

Sparta becomes the first military power in Greece.

When all his plans had been adopted and everything was in working order, Lycurgus was anxious that they should be so established as to last for ever. He therefore assembled the people and told them that, although the rules he had already made for them were sufficient to make them virtuous and happy, he had a far greater boon still in store. He might not reveal this till he had once more consulted the oracle; and as he was about to visit Delphi again, he asked them to promise that they would observe his laws faithfully till his return. The kings, senators and citizens all took a solemn oath to keep them during his absence. Arrived at Delphi, Lycurgus

Death of Lycurgus.

offered a sacrifice and then asked the oracle whether his laws were sufficient to promote virtue and secure the happiness of the Spartan state. The answer was that the laws were good, and the city which kept them should be the most glorious in the world. Lycurgus sent this answer to Sparta; then he felt that his work was done. After another solemn sacrifice he took leave of his friends, and put an end to his own life. He did this that he might never return to Sparta, and the citizens should be bound by his laws for ever. He acted thus for the good of his country, and Plutarch says that "the conclusion of his life was the crown of happiness," and that he was not deceived in his expectations, for "Sparta continued superior to the rest of Greece both in its government at home and reputation abroad, as long as it retained the institutions of Lycurgus".

CHAPTER IV.

THE WARS OF SPARTA.

LYCURGUS was in a sense the founder of Sparta, for his laws and institutions made her the chief state of the Peloponnesus and for a long while the foremost city of Greece. In the old heroic days, of which Homer and the poets sang, Argos had held the supreme place. This was the home of Perseus as well as of Agamemnon, and of Heracles who ought to have been king instead of the tyrant Eurystheus. It was in the domain of Argos that he slew the Nemean lion and the many-headed hydra. The great desire of his banished descendants was to return to Argos, for this was still home in their eyes. That honour fell to Temenus, the eldest of the great-grandsons of Hyllus. His lot was accounted the best because of the great wealth of Argos and the other noble cities of this region—the all-golden Mycenae, as Homer called it, and Tiryns, where the remains of the palace may yet be seen. Above all he prized the rich inheritance of ancient glory that still clung to its name. To make Argos once more a leader in Greece, to be the shepherds of their people and lead their hosts to battle like the twin sons of Atreus—this was the hope and the dream of the conquering sons of Heracles.

We know very little about the history of Argos during the first two centuries after the Dorian conquest, for there were no great poets to sing its praises as Homer did of the older Argos. At least one great

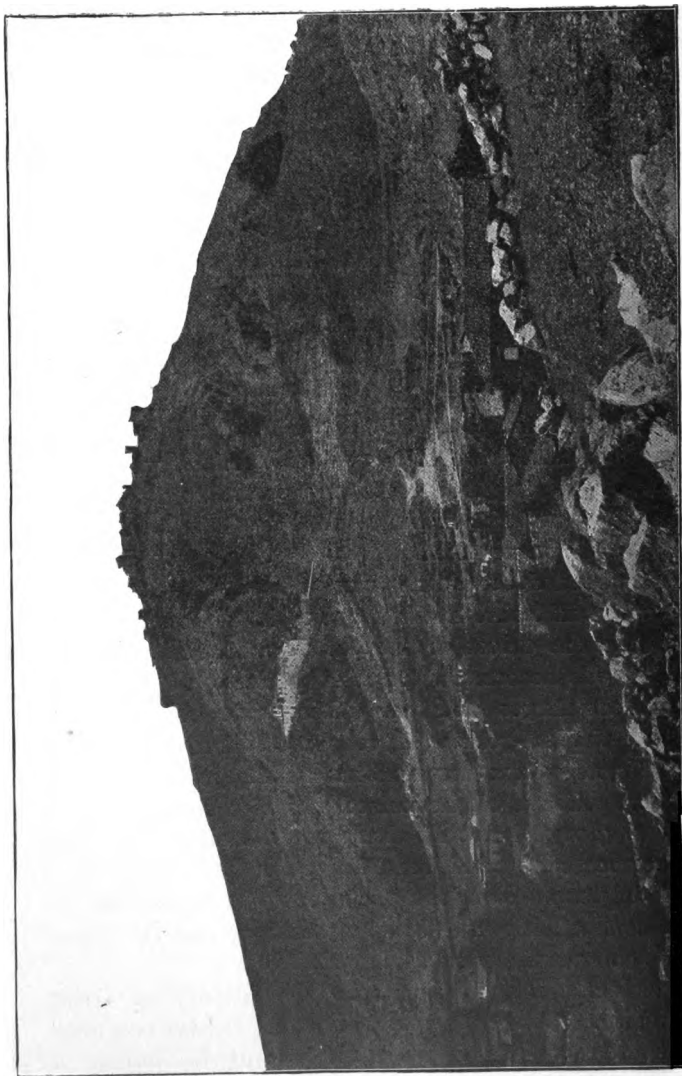


Photo. : S. C. Atchley, Athens

ARGOS: THE CITADEL.

king, worthy of his ancestry, ruled there during that period. This was Pheidon who lived some time during the seventh century B.C., but exactly when no one seems to know. He was so powerful in his own territory that he was able to make himself an absolute ruler, which was very unusual in Greece, where there were nearly always senates or other bodies to share and check the king's power. Pheidon was a brave soldier and eager to extend his kingdom by conquest. As the eldest descendant of Heracles he pretended that he had a right to all the places that his great ancestor had taken in the course of his adventures. Had he been able to make good this claim many cities both in Greece and far beyond it would have fallen to his lot, but of course they had first to be conquered, and that was not so easy. He also claimed the privilege of presiding at the Olympic Games, because Heracles was supposed to have founded them in memory of his victory over Augeas, the king whose stables he cleansed and who refused him the promised payment. At this time the people of Elis managed the Games under the protection of Sparta. It was their duty to arrange for the celebrations at the proper intervals, to keep guard over the sacred plain where they were held, and declare the holy truce which lasted for a month, in order to give all visitors time to travel there and back without fear of attack. These privileges were coveted by the people of Pisa, in whose territory the sanctuary of Zeus was included, and Pheidon backed their claim in the hope that, if he succeeded, Argos would get the position of honour which Sparta had hitherto held at Olympia. When the time for the Games came round Pheidon marched with an army to Olympia, and superintended the festival which was managed by the Pisatans. The Elians called on the Spartans for help, and war broke

Pheidon, a
great king of
Argos, c. 700
B.C.

out between the two states. Sparta was victorious, and restored Elis to its former position; the Olympiad at which Pheidon presided was struck off the list and not allowed to count in the reckoning.

It is said that Pheidon was the first Greek king to make a proper system of weights and measures, and that he made his country rich and prosperous as well as successful in war. After his time there were no more great kings at Argos, which grew weaker as Sparta got stronger, till at last it had to be content with remembering that it had once been a warlike state. In the arts of peace it continued to excel, the music and sculpture of Argos were celebrated everywhere, its beautiful temples were the wonder of the Peloponnesus, and men came from afar to take part in the festivals held in honour of Heracles at Nemea, and at Argos to the glory of the patron goddess Hera, queen of heaven.

Meantime Sparta had been growing on all sides.

The growth of Sparta. Little by little the Dorians who had settled in the valley of the Eurotas were spreading beyond the bounds of their village city, and conquering for themselves the whole surrounding territory of Laconia. On the west the steep mountain-range of Taygetus served as boundary between Laconia and Messenia. As the population of Sparta began to outgrow her borders, it was beyond these mountains that she cast a covetous eye. Two fertile plains watered by abundant streams, with soil that rewarded the lightest labour with a plentiful harvest, and a climate neither too hot nor too cold, sheltered from the harsh winds of the north and tempered by sea-breezes from the south and west—such was Messenia, a land of vines and olives, of waving corn-fields and sheltering harbours. No wonder the Messenians called the southern plain Makaria, which means the land of blessing, or that

the Spartans, when once they had secured Laconia, should cast a longing eye on the more fortunate lands to westward.

When two neighbouring states with growing populations are bent on war it is easy enough to find an excuse for fighting, and so the Spartans and Messenians found. On the borders of Messenia was a sanctuary of Artemis of the Lake, and Messenians and Laconians shared the possession of this temple. Here at one of the joint sacrifices the quarrel began. Some young Spartans came to the temple dressed as girls with daggers hidden under their robes. Their object was to fall upon the Messenian envoys and kill them, but in the fight the Spartan king himself was killed. In spite of this act of treachery and its unexpected result, war did not break out at once, and the immediate cause was a quarrel between private citizens. Polychares, a Messenian, who as the winner of an Olympic victory was a person of some importance, owned a number of cattle, but had not sufficient land for them to graze on. He therefore arranged with a Spartan called Euaephnus to keep them for him, and in return for supplying the pasture he was to keep some of the produce. Euaephnus, who was a bad man, sold the cows to some traders who had put into a Laconian port and kept the money himself. When charged with this act of dishonesty he did not deny it, but promised to hand over the price of the cattle, if Polychares would send his son to fetch it. Accordingly the boy was sent, but Euaephnus seized and killed him. Polychares now sent to Sparta to ask for redress, and when it was refused he wandered about in a frenzied state, killing every Spartan on whom he could lay hands.

It was now the turn of the Spartans to complain. They sent messengers to Stenyclarus, the capital of Messenia,

to demand that Polychares should be given up to them. When the matter was discussed in the council the king took one side, and his brother the opposite; and as they could not agree it was proposed that the matter should be referred for decision either to Argos or to the Areopagus at Athens, a court which the goddess Athena was said to have founded to try cases of murder and manslaughter. The Spartans sent no answer to this proposal, but prepared for war with Messenia. They made all the citizens take a solemn oath that, neither for the length of the war, if it should be protracted, nor for the calamities it should cause, great as these might be, would they swerve to the right or to the left, till by their good swords they had made Messenia their own. After taking this oath they marched out by night against Amphea, a Messenian fortress on the borders of Laconia. They surprised the place and took it; and, as it was a strong town with a good water supply, they made it their base, which means the place where they kept their stores and to which they would return if forced to retreat. As soon as the Messenians heard that Amphea was taken, they hurried from all parts of the country to Stenyclarus to arrange for the defence. All the men, both young and old, were called out to fight, those who were already soldiers were constantly drilled and kept in readiness, and even private citizens prepared to fight for the defence of their country.

The war did indeed prove a long one, and sometimes one side got the better and sometimes the other.

The First Messenian War, c. 750-725 B.C. The Spartans plundered the Messenian lands, and the Messenians harried the Laconian.

In the third and fourth years some regular battles were fought, but the result was indecisive. After a while however fortune seemed to turn against the Messenians. Their slaves deserted, sickness broke

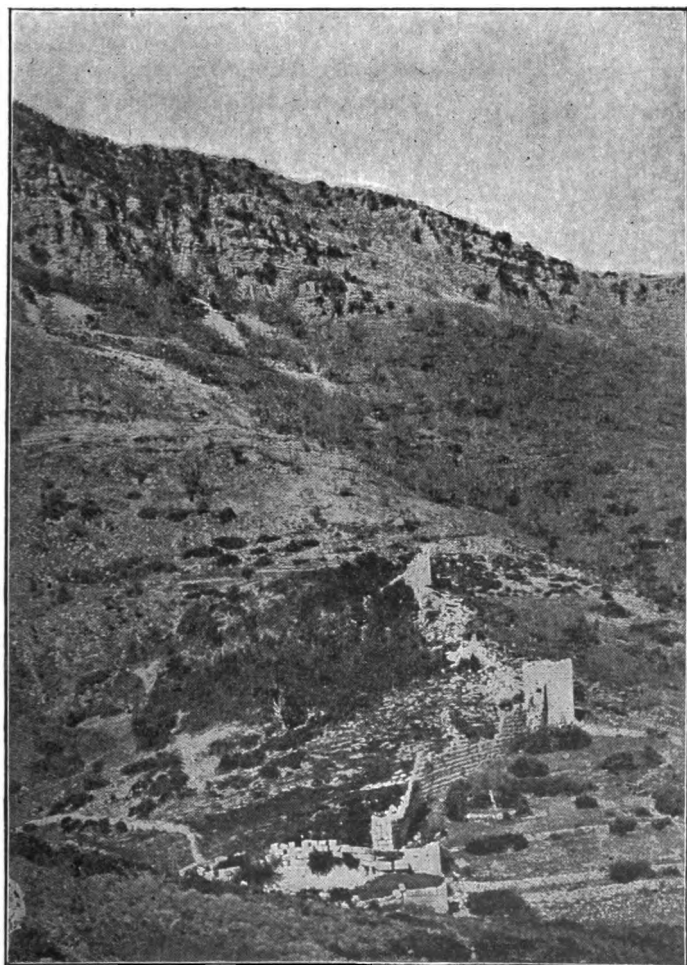


Photo. : English Photographic Co., Athens.

ITHOME.

(By kind permission of the Hellenic Society.)

See also p. 327 for a picture of Messene that was afterwards built on the same site as Ithome,

out, and they found it impossible to keep up the garrisons in all their cities. They decided therefore to give them up, and defend only Ithome, a small town on the crest of a steep hill from which they could look far away over to Taygetus, and watch the Spartan forces crossing the ridge into the plains. For sixteen years they made this their headquarters, sometimes sallying out to attack the Spartans in their own land and carry off their cattle, at others hard pressed to ward off the attacks of the enemy. In one of these battles the Messenian king was killed, and Aristodemus his kinsman was invited to succeed him. Meantime both sides had been trying to find allies, with the result that the Corinthians came to help the Spartans, while the Arcadians and some of the Argives took the part of Messenia. All these forces took part in one great battle in which Aristodemus led the Messenians. Leaving some of his troops in ambush on Mount Ithome, he sent the heavy infantry to charge the Spartans. At a given signal the light troops came on at a run, surrounded the enemy and poured a shower of javelins into their flanks, while some of the bolder ones ran in and stabbed them at close quarters. They kept up this mode of attack, retiring whenever they were pursued, and advancing again whenever the enemy stood still, while the heavy infantry pressed on them in front. At last the Spartan ranks broke, and the Messenians remained in possession of the field.

Of course they were very much encouraged by the result of this battle, and Aristodemus was regarded as a hero. But even this defeat did not discourage the Spartans, and they still had possession of several Messenian cities. Aristodemus therefore sent to Delphi to ask what he must do to deliver his country, and the answer was that victory would fall to that side which first placed a hundred tripods on the altar of Zeus at

Ithome. That seemed an easy thing for the Messenians to do, and they now felt sure of victory. They at once got ready a hundred wooden tripods, for they were not rich enough to make them of bronze. Before they could be put in their place a Spartan stole a march upon them. The oracle had been reported at Sparta too, and this man quickly made a hundred tripods of clay, the first material that came to hand, and put them in a bag which he slung over his shoulder with some nets, as though he were going out hunting. He managed to enter Ithome along with some peasants, and no one recognised him as a Spartan. When night came on he made his way to the temple, and placed the tripods round the altar. When the Messenians found them there in the morning, they knew that Apollo had declared for their enemies. There were other signs too of divine disfavour. The bronze statue of Artemis dropped her shield, and when a sacrifice was being offered to Zeus the rams dashed their horns against the altar and died from the shock. The dogs howled all night, then gathered in a pack and ran away to Sparta. Worst of all was a dream that Aristodemus had. He thought that he was armed and ready for battle, when suddenly his dead daughter appeared to him all dressed in black. She threw down the victims from the altar and stripped off his armour; then she put a garland on his head and hung a white mantle, the emblem of death, around him. Aristodemus was filled with such despair at these terrible omens, that he killed himself on his daughter's grave. The Messenians now lost heart. They chose no more kings, but instead appointed three generals, who were all killed in the last decisive battle. Ithome held out a few months longer, then was forced to surrender. It was razed to the ground, and the conquest of Messenia was complete.

Many of the Messenians left their country and took refuge in Argos and other cities, while those who remained were reduced to the position of helots on the lands that had once been their own.

**The conquest
of Messenia.**

“Like asses galled by grievous burdens borne,
Bringing, compelled by cruel masters’ scorn,
Half of their pasture’s little crop of corn,”

says the Spartan poet Tyrtaeus. At the funerals of the kings they were compelled to come to Sparta dressed in black and to pretend to mourn for the harsh masters they were forced to serve.

As time went on and a new generation grew up who could not remember the great war and all the suffering it had brought with it, the Messenians determined to revolt from Sparta. The person who encouraged them most in this was the brave hero Aristomenes, who with some other young nobles worked upon the minds of the people, bidding them free themselves from this intolerable slavery. Even in the first battle Aristomenes performed such feats of valour that the Messenians chose him as their general, and gave him full power to do what he thought best. In the hope of striking terror into the enemy he went by night to Sparta, and fastened on the temple of Athena of the Brazen House a shield with this inscription: “Presented by Aristomenes to the goddess out of Spartan spoils”.

The Spartans now saw that they had a serious enemy to deal with, and as usual when they were in a difficulty they sent to Delphi for advice. The answer was that they must take an Athenian counsellor. They therefore sent to Athens asking for help. The Athenians dared not disobey the oracle, but they were not very friendly to

**Second
Messenian
War, c. 660-
645 B.C.**

Sparta and did not care to help her, so they sent a lame poet called Tyrtaeus to their aid. Though he could not lead them to battle he sang stirring songs to the people, and composed warlike odes to whose music they marched against the enemy, and he went along with them to hearten the troops.

“ Sons of the land, how long will you sleep ? How long till your spirit

Wakes in its strength ? Oh, shame to all those that dwell in your borders !

Lapped in sloth are the limbs that once were mighty in battle.

Peace, think you ? Nay, it is war as a flame and a fire through the country ! ”

With such songs he roused the Spartan youth, bidding them remember Heracles, the great ancestor of their royal race.

The Spartans now made a fresh effort. They invaded Messenia and got as far as a place called the Boar's Grave, where they found an army drawn up against them. Aristomenes with eighty picked youths led the charge and put the Spartans to flight, while the rest of the army pursued them. The Spartans were greatly discouraged by this defeat and even spoke of making peace. But Tyrtaeus roused their drooping spirits once more. Let them go forward again and fear nothing except the disgrace of turning their backs on the enemy. Better death than disgrace.

“ Death the most fair, best desired, to fall in the front of the battle !
Happy the dead who die in fight for their fatherland's cause.”

Fortune now once more fell to Sparta, but her success was due in part to the treachery of the Messenian allies. The Arcadian king who had come to their assistance allowed himself to be bribed by Sparta, and led off his troops just as the battle was beginning. The Messenians being thus deserted were easily surrounded by the enemy and, though Aristomenes and

his friends did prodigies of valour, the battle was really lost before it was begun. Aristomenes now persuaded the remnant of the Messenians to settle on Mount Eira, an almost inaccessible rock in the extreme west. They made this their headquarters, and sallied out now and then to harry Laconia and parts of Messenia, which they looked upon as the enemy's land. Once Aristomenes even led a force as far as Amyclae in Laconia, took and pillaged it, and beat a retreat before the Spartans could come to the rescue. This kind of warfare went on for some time till, in an encounter with the main force of the enemy under both the kings, Aristomenes was struck on the head by a stone. Before he could recover consciousness he was taken prisoner with fifty of his men, and they were all thrown down the abyss into which the Spartans threw their worst criminals. All the rest were killed by the fall, but Aristomenes reached the bottom alive. As he saw no chance of rescue he covered his face with his mantle, and lay there waiting for death. On the second day he was roused by a noise, and uncovering his face to see what caused it, he caught sight through the darkness of a fox gnawing the corpses. When the creature presently came up quite close to him, he seized its tail and ran along beside it as best he could. In this way he was dragged to a hole big enough for the fox to get through, and he could see light shining through the crack. He managed to widen it with his hands and creep out. Then he got back safely to Mount Eira, where he was received with great rejoicings. It was not long before he gave a proof of being alive. He fell on the Spartan camp one night, plundered the tents, killed a number of the enemy in their sleep, and a second time offered to Zeus the sacrifice of the Hundred Slain.

For ten years, thanks to Aristomenes, Eira stood firm ;

in the eleventh it was doomed to fall. One dark, rainy night the Spartans made their way in, and battle raged in the streets of the town. When Aristomenes saw that all hope of saving it was gone, he recalled his men, except those who were fighting in front. He ordered the rest to enclose the women and children in their ranks and follow him. Marching at the head of the column he bowed his head and waved his spear as a sign that they wished to withdraw. The Spartans let them pass, and they made their way to Arcadia undisturbed. There they formed a plan for attacking Sparta, but Aristocrates, the king, betrayed them a second time. His treachery was discovered, and his own people stoned him to death. In memory of the deed they set up a tablet near the temple of Zeus with this inscription :—

“ Verily time has revealed it, the sin of an impious monarch,
 And with the help of Zeus, Messene’s betrayer revealed.
 Easy the task ; but hard for the wrong-doer, Zeus, to escape thee,
 Hail to thee, Saviour and Lord, long mayst thou Arcady guard.”

The fugitive Messenians together with some of their allies sailed for Italy, where they founded a colony at Rhegium, and many years after Rhegium helped to found a new Messene in Sicily. Aristomenes went to the island of Rhodes, and was the first of a race of heroes.

The fate
 of the
 Messenians.

Sparta now owned a third part of the Peloponnesus, but with this she was by no means satisfied. During the Messenian wars she had been brought into contact with the hardy high-

The people of
 Arcadia.

land people that lived among the hills of Arcadia, and had alone remained untouched by the stream of Dorian invasion. In the shelter of their mountain fastnesses this simple shepherd people had kept up their old world customs, tilling their own land, playing on their rustic flutes and dancing and singing at the village

festivals. Proud of their position as the original race, no mere new-comers from beyond the sea, they asked no better than to remain undisturbed among their hills, untouched by the new ideas of the Dorians. But this could not go on for ever. A poor people, with no means of earning a living by trade or adding to the land they already owned, they were forced to find some provision for the fast increasing population, and bands of soldiers were formed ready to serve the highest bidder for pay. This was how the Arcadians had been drawn into the quarrel between Sparta and Messenia; and as they afterwards offered a home to some of the Messenian survivors, this gave the Spartans a welcome excuse for trying to spread their conquests to the north. It is not surprising therefore that the Arcadian war followed the Messenian.

As usual the Spartans sent to Delphi to ask for a blessing on their undertaking, but they did not get a very encouraging answer. This was the reply of the oracle :—

**The War
against
Tegea.**

“Cravest thou Arcady? Great is the boon, but grant it I shall not.

Arcady nourishes many a man that feeds on the acorn;
They shall hinder thy wish, for 'tis not I who will grudge it.

I will give thee to dance in the echoing groves of Tegea,

Yea, and to mark out in lots fair lands with a measure of rope line.”

Since this seemed at any rate to promise them Tegea, which was the chief city in Arcadia, they set out at once for the place, and made so sure of success that they actually took with them chains for the prisoners they expected to take. But luck was against them; it was the Spartans who were defeated and themselves bound in those very chains, and forced to till the land for their conquerors, and thus fulfil the prophecy in a sense they had not expected. Herodotus, who lived

two centuries later, says that the chains were preserved to his day in the temple of Athena and, as he had seen them with his own eyes, he thought that was sufficient proof of the truth of his story.

Of course the Spartans would not rest content with such a beating as this; they only waited for a favourable opportunity to take their revenge. For a whole generation all their attempts were unsuccessful; at last they received a more hopeful answer from Delphi. They were told to bring the bones of Orestes, son of Agamemnon, to Sparta. No one knew where he had been buried, so they prayed the god to help them further. Then he sent this oracle:—

<p>“Low lies Tegea in the plain of a smooth Arcadian valley, Swept by two winds of doom, that blow for ever and ever, Stroke still answering stroke, and woe upon woe ever falling, There on earth’s life-giving breast lies the son of the great Agamemnon. Thou, if thou bearest him thence, shalt straightway be lord of Tegea.”</p>	<p>The grave of Orestes.</p>
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It happened that during a truce a Spartan youth named Lichas visited Tegea. One day he dropped in at a blacksmith’s forge and sat watching the work. When he expressed his surprise at the size of the piece of steel which was under the hammer, the blacksmith answered: “Ah, sir, you might indeed be astonished had you seen what I have, if you are so filled with wonder by my work in steel. One day when I was trying to dig a well in the yard I hit upon a coffin seven cubits long. And because I could not believe that there ever had been men taller than those of the present day, I opened it, and saw that the corpse corresponded in size to the coffin.” These words recalled to Lichas the oracle, and he guessed that he had found the very spot, for the “two winds of doom that blow for ever

and ever" were the blacksmith's bellows, while the hammer and anvil produced the "stroke still answering stroke". At Sparta he related his discovery and asked to be exiled to Tegea. Then he told the blacksmith his hard case and persuaded him to let him the smithy, as he wanted to set up business on his own account. Once in possession he dug up the coffin and carried the

**Peace with
Arcadia**

bones of Orestes to Sparta. Now the luck turned and the Spartans gained some victories, but they never subdued Arcadia though they made a sort of alliance with it. The treaty between the two states was inscribed on a pillar near the source of the Alpheus, and when the Arcadians went to battle with the Spartans they held the place of honour on the left wing.

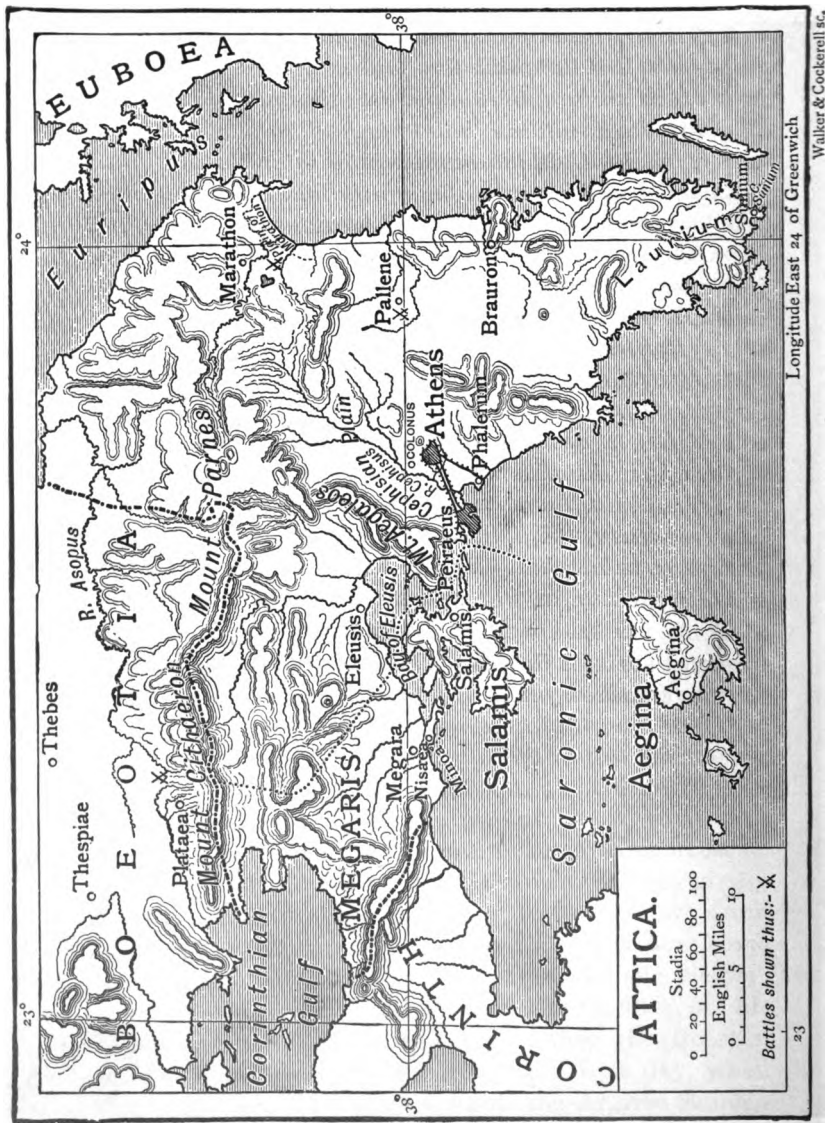
**War with
Argos.**

While these wars were going on Sparta had been little by little encroaching on Argos, but very few details of the fighting have come down to us. The Spartans had taken a district called Thyreatis, and Argos made several attempts to get it back. On one of these occasions it was arranged that, instead of a regular battle, three hundred men from each side should be chosen to fight, and the prize of victory should be Thyreatis. The rest of each army was to withdraw into its own country, because, if they were present during the battle and saw their side worsted, they might be tempted to come to the rescue. This battle lasted for many hours, neither side giving in; at last only three men were left alive, two from Argos and one from Sparta. As night had now come the Argives hurried home to announce their victory, but the Spartan plundered the dead bodies of his opponents and carried their arms into the Spartan camp. Then he returned to his post. Next day, when both sides came to learn the result the Argives claimed the victory because they had fewer slain, but the

one Spartan maintained that it was his, because his opponents had fled whilst he had remained at his post and taken their spoils. As it was impossible to settle this dispute a general battle ensued, in which Sparta was victorious. The Argives now made a law that the men should not wear their hair long nor the women put on ornaments of gold till they should have won back Thyreatis. The Spartans who had previously cut their hair short now began to wear it long. So at least Herodotus the historian tells us.

Thyreatis was taken about the middle of the sixth century B.C., and this was the last conquest made by Sparta. Two-fifths of the Peloponnesus now belonged to her, Argos was so weak that she could not stand up against her, Arcadia was her ally, and Elis her grateful friend. In the sacred plain of Olympia as at the holy sanctuary of Delphi Sparta took the first place as her due. By the favour of the gods, by valour in war and stern discipline at home, she had won the right to be considered the foremost state of Greece. This proud position she held for two hundred years.

The greatness of Sparta.



CHAPTER V.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF ATHENS.

ATHENS was the most beautiful of all the Greek cities, and the one whose name lingers most lovingly in the memories of men. On the west of the Attic peninsula, the river Cephissus flows through a plain bounded on three sides by mountains, and pours its waters into the Saronic Gulf. About five miles from the sea in the centre of this plain stands a tall rock with a broad flat summit. It is known to us as the Acropolis of Athens, and we think of it as a centre of civilisation for the whole world. The history of this rock goes far, far back into times of which we know very little. Two thousand years before the time of Christ men had already built dwellings on its summit. Massive walls, of which portions yet remain, secured the edge of the hill against approaching enemies, and on the west, where the main entrance lay, no one could enter without passing through nine successive gates. At one corner a covered staircase led down to a well, and on the north side there were two narrow ways which descended to the plain. It was a strong fortress which must have withstood many a siege and warded off many a fierce attack of the enemy, but history has not yet lifted the veil to tell us anything of the great lords of the olden time who built these mighty works.

When the legends of Attica begin, the Greeks had already come into the land. Cecrops was one of the

first kings of this race who lived on the rocky fortress.

The fable of Cecrops.

He called it Cecropia, and the people over whom he ruled Cecropians. Fables gathered about him till he no longer appeared as a

man, but a monster, half man, half serpent, who had grown out of the earth and was something more than human. In his time the Cecropians learned to worship Athena, the warlike goddess of wisdom, and Poseidon, the mighty lord of the sea, and he was called on to decide which of the two should be the city's special patron. Athena won the first place, and henceforth

The worship of Athena.

the people became Athenians instead of Cecropians, and the city that was built about the rock was ever afterwards called Athens.



CONTEST BETWEEN ATHENA AND POSEIDON.
(From a vase painting at St. Petersburg.)

Poseidon was worshipped here also, and his image stood beside ~~his~~ hers when a temple was built on the Acropolis. Both gods brought gifts to the city. Athena thrust her spear into the ground, and the branches and leaves of an olive sprouted from it. Poseidon struck the rock with his trident and a well of salt water gushed forth. Both the olive tree and the well were pointed out to travellers many hundred years later. These gifts

were symbols: the olive groves of Attica, a land of oil and wine, were to bring her wealth and prosperity; the sea which girt her shores would carry many a colony to distant lands, and give her glory and the dominion over nations. In after times Pheidias, the greatest of Athenian sculptors, represented this story in a group of statues made for his new temple of the goddess; and Sophocles, the best loved poet of Athens, sang thus of the beauteous city, the queen of the sea, lying in the midst of her olive groves:—

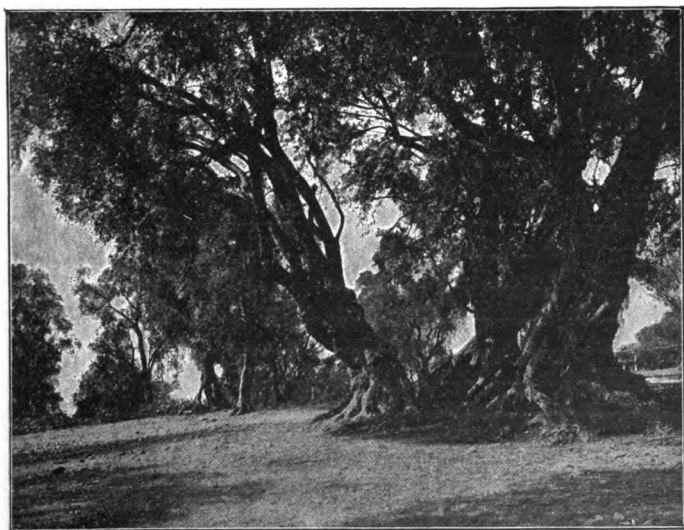


Photo. : Alinari Bros., Florence.

GROUP OF OLIVE TREES.

“ Also there is a plant, self-sown,
Untrained, ungrafted—never known,
That I have heard, in Asian soil,
Or Pelops’ mighty Dorian isle,
Which, terror of the spears of foes,
In this our land most largely grows—
The grey, health-giving olive-leaf;
Which neither youth nor veteran chief

Shall e'er destroy with violent hand :
 For that the face of Jove above it,
 An ever-watching guardian, and
 The azure-eyed Athana love it.

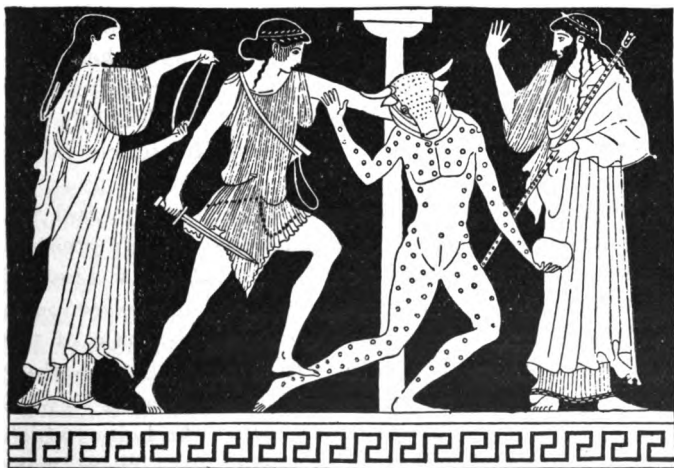
"And further, more than all, we boast
 The great God's bounty, prized the most
 Of honours by our mother-state,
 Fair sea, fleet steed and fruitful strain.
 O Cronos' son, Poseidon, King,
 Thou givest her this praise to sing !
 Thou didst for these highways create
 The bit, the courser to refrain,
 And thy good oar-blades, fashioned meet
 For hands of rowers, with bounding motion,
 Follow the Nereids' hundred feet,
 In marvellous dance along the ocean."

Another of the early Athenian kings was Erechtheus. He gave his people wise laws and was
 Theseus, the hero-founder of Athens. honoured by them in his lifetime, and after
 his death worshipped with Poseidon in a
 temple built on the Acropolis called the Erechtheum.
 Of all the ancient kings of Athens, Theseus was the
 greatest. He was descended from both Erechtheus and
 Pelops, so that the noblest blood of Attica and the
 Peloponnesus flowed in his veins. This was the same
 Theseus who killed the Minotaur and freed Athens
 from the tribute of Crete, and who conquered those
 warlike women, the Amazons, and took their queen to
 wife. Greek poetry is full of the wonderful deeds of
 Theseus, and our own Shakespeare has given us a
 picture of him in the *Midsummer Night's Dream* as a
 noble and generous prince, the father and protector of
 his people. No wonder the Athenians looked upon him
 as their second founder, for it was he who made Athens
 mistress of all Attica.

The lords of the Acropolis had been gradually extending their dominion over the whole surrounding

plain, and then beyond it to the south and north-east. Theseus completed the conquest and induced the separate towns of Attica to join into a single state with Athens at the head. All these towns had equal rights, and their citizens were free men, but the seat of government was at Athens, just as in England it is in London. The towns now joined in the worship of Athena, and every year people

The Union of
Attica.



THESEUS AND THE MINOTAUR.

(From a vase painting in the Vatican Museum.)

went from all the Attic cities to the capital to keep the great festival of their goddess queen.

Theseus died in exile as a punishment for offending the gods, but his descendants were restored to the throne. For more than a century after his death there were kings at Athens, some from the family of Theseus and some from another house. At last the throne fell to Codrus. It was in his reign that the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus took place; and a Dorian army

entered Attica, seized Megara, and even threatened Athens. The Delphic oracle had promised them success so long as they did no injury to Codrus, and all the soldiers had strict orders not to harm the Athenian king. But it happened that this oracle was betrayed to the Athenians by a Delphic citizen, and Codrus determined to sacrifice himself for his country. Disguised as a peasant he entered the Dorian camp and began a quarrel with some of the soldiers. The result was a fight in which Codrus was killed. When the Dorians found out what had happened they at once withdrew their forces, for they knew they had lost all hope of success. Thus it was really their own action that caused the oracle to be fulfilled.

Codrus became the saviour of his country, and the Athenians revered his memory as one of their greatest heroes. They sometimes called him the last king of Athens, as though no one else had been good enough to succeed him. Certainly we know very little of the kings who came after him. In course of time their power grew less, for other magistrates shared it with them. These were called Archons, which means rulers. For some years there were three chief persons to share the power, the king, the archon, and the polemarch (which means the war archon). Afterwards the title of king was done away with altogether, and the archon was the chief person in the state. He had to be a member of the family of Codrus, and was elected for a period of ten years. Still later nine magistrates were elected every year, and even before this the office was thrown open to all noble persons. These shared amongst them the power that had once been the king's. First came the Archon who gave his name to the year, next the King Archon who was a sort of chief priest, and then the War Archon.

who was the principal general. The six others had to deal with the laws, to make fresh ones and see that they were obeyed. It was very important that such posts should be held by good men, who would put their country's interests before their own. When they entered office they had to take an oath to act in accordance with the laws. Each of them swore that if he committed an unjust act he would dedicate to the gods a life-size statue of pure gold. No private man would have been rich enough to do this, so it was another way of promising that he would do no wrong.

The power which had once belonged to the king had now passed into the hands of a few noble families. A government of this sort is called **The power of the nobles.** an oligarchy, which means the rule of a few; and it usually brings trouble with it, because these few families make laws and manage the state for their own advantage, and care very little for the good of the people. This is what now happened at Athens. To make matters worse the state was disturbed by quarrels between three parties who were called, from their place of living, Plainsmen, Shoremen, and Uplanders. The Plainsmen were the rich nobles who owned all the best land in Attica, the Shoremen were fishers and traders, while the Uplanders were poor shepherds who kept their flocks on the rough hill-sides.

What with the constant quarrels between these parties, the increasing poverty of the poor people, and the injustice they suffered from **The Greek Tyrants, 650-600 B.C.** the nobles who had all the control of the state in their hands, it was a time of trouble and difficulty, and an ambitious man thought that here was an opportunity to take a side and, by offering to help the people, get the power into his own hands. This had been done lately in several Greek cities, such as Corinth and Sicyon in the Peloponnesus, and Megara, which was

a near neighbour of Athens. The Greeks called a man who seized the power in this way a tyrant. This did not mean that he was wicked or cruel, but only that he was what we should now call an absolute ruler. Often the people were happier under a tyrant than they had been before, because he could only keep his power by their consent, and it was therefore worth his while to

**Cylon tries to
make himself
tyrant, 632
B.C.** treat them well and try to make them happy. It now occurred to an Athenian named Cylon to follow the example of Periander at

Corinth, and Orthagoras at Sicyon, and make himself tyrant of Athens. Cylon was a rich noble, who had won a victory at Olympia and married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. Before taking any other steps Cylon sent to Delphi for advice, and the oracle told him to seize the Acropolis at the greatest festival of Zeus. He waited till the time of the Olympian Games came round, and then with the help of some friends surprised the guards and got possession of the citadel. But he seems to have misunderstood the oracle, or perhaps it purposely misled him because his intentions were unrighteous, and it was afterwards explained that it was the chief Athenian and not Olympian festival that was meant. At any rate Cylon's attempt was a failure. The Athenians did not wish for a tyrant, or, if they did, it was not Cylon they wanted. At the first sound of alarm they came hurrying in from the fields and villages, and surrounded the Acropolis to prevent the conspirators from escaping. Cylon and his brother tried to slip away unobserved, when they found the attempt was hopeless; and the others took refuge in the temple of Athena, because no one dare touch them in this sacred place. Here they stayed without food or drink, till at last the archon Megacles persuaded them to leave the temple, promising to spare their lives if they surrendered of

their own free will. The promise, however, was not kept, and they were all put to death. The murderers were guilty of sacrilege as well as treachery; and the Greeks, who were a religious people, thought this a terrible crime. When the suppliants left the altar, they had fastened a cord to the base of Athena's statue, and held it all the way down hill so that they might not lose the protection of the goddess. But the cord broke before they reached the bottom, and Megacles, in advising the death of the conspirators, spoke of this as a sign that Athena denied them her protection. All the same, many persons at Athens looked upon him as guilty of a cruel and sacrilegious act, and they believed that punishment would surely follow. Megacles, they said, was under a curse, which would descend to his children and children's children, and bring misfortune to Athens if he remained in her borders. They wanted to bring him to trial, but his family was so rich and powerful that when he refused no one could compel him. After the death of Megacles, the state broke up into two factions: those that were on the side of the Alcmaeonids, as this clan was called from Alcmaeon, son of Megacles, and those who hated them and wished to see them banished. This quarrel lasted very many years, and whenever any calamity befell the city one party always put it down to the curse that rested on the Alcmaeonids.

The curse on
the house of
Alcmaeon.

While Athens was in this sad state, a man appeared in her midst to put an end to her troubles. This was Solon, one of the wisest men who ever lived. He belonged to one of the noble families, and could trace his descent from the house of Codrus. Like all the young nobles of his day he had learned to read and write, to sing and play on the flute and lyre, as well as to run and ride and

Solon.

wrestle. No doubt he knew a good deal of Homer's poetry by heart, and could sing a song or turn a jest when he drank his wine with his friends after dinner. But he was too ambitious to be satisfied with this; he wanted to learn more and also to earn money. He was not rich, for his father had spent most of the family fortune, and Solon thought it no shame to gain wealth by trade. He would even sail away in his own ship to carry the oil and wine of Attica to distant ports, and bring back in exchange the products of other lands. In the course of his voyages he learned to know many different peoples, and as he was eager for knowledge and never lost an opportunity of learning, he studied and compared their laws and customs. Like Lycurgus, the great Spartan lawgiver, he learned wisdom from the lips of many men. As he listened and pondered their words, Solon's thoughts turned to his own beloved Athens, and he resolved that before he died he would do some great thing for his country.

At that time Athens was engaged in war with Megara for the possession of the little island of Salamis, off the coast of Attica. Athens had hitherto come off worst, and at last the Athenians, tired of this unsuccessful fighting, had made a law that for the future, under pain of death, no one should either by speech or writing propose another attempt to win back Salamis. There were plenty of brave men who did not approve of this law, but to ask for its repeal would be to incur certain death, so they were content to grumble in secret. Solon alone had the courage to speak out. One day he appeared in the market-place dressed in a very odd fashion, and behaving so strangely that people thought he must be out of his mind. When a crowd had gathered round him, he began to recite some verses of his own composition :—

The recovery
of Salamis.

“Lo, as a herald I come from Salamis the beloved,
 Here I make my defence, weaving my speech into song.
 Would I might barter my lot, nor henceforth be called an Athenian,
 Choosing to seek me a home in a city of little repute!
 So I might hope to escape the reproach now uttered by all men—
 ‘See the Athenian! one who Salamis basely betrayed.’
 Come, let us hasten and fight for the land of our love and our longing,
 Casting for ever behind us the grievous burden of shame.”

This and much more Solon recited to the people, and as they listened they took heart once more, and at last broke into a shout and rushed down from the market-place to the ships, as though they would set out on the spot to win back their ancient inheritance. The result was a fresh attempt: Solon was appointed one of the commanders, the Megarians were defeated, and Salamis restored to Athens.

After this Solon was held in the greatest esteem. His advice was sought on all hands, and it has even been said that it was he who persuaded the Alcmaeonids to submit to trial before three hundred judges chosen from the noble families. The result was a condemnation; all living members of the clan were sent into exile; even the bodies of those who had died since the crime was committed might not remain in Attica, but were cast out beyond its borders. But some historians think that Solon was not concerned in this matter.

The Wisdom
of Solon.

Their success in the war against Megara had given the Athenians confidence, and before long they engaged in another further from home. The sanctuary of Delphi lay in territory that belonged to the city of Crisa, and for some time the Crisaeans had been trying to force all pilgrims to the shrine to pay them tribute. The priests were very indignant at this, and insisted that the temple of Apollo was subject to no mortal men. The oracle was the common inheritance of all Hellenes, and it was impious for

The Sacred
War, 590-
589.

one little city to lay claim to it. The matter was brought before the Amphictiony, whose duty it was to protect the temple. Solon, who was one of the delegates from Athens, spoke in favour of taking up arms in defence of Delphi. War was decided on, and Athens took an important part in it. It lasted a long while, for now one side got the better and now the other. The oracle had declared that Crisa would never be taken till the sea washed the sanctuary of Apollo; and as Delphi was several miles from the coast, it was as good as saying that it would never be taken at all. Solon however thought of a plan. He persuaded the allies to dedicate to the god the plain which lay between Crisa and the sea, and in this way Apollo's dominion was carried down to the water. Of course they could only promise to do this when they had conquered the territory of Crisa, but victory came to them now; Crisa was taken, and the plain consecrated to Apollo. It was never to be ploughed or sown again; if any man should try to plant aught thereon, he should be accursed for evermore. Thus ended the Sacred War.✓

Since the successful expedition against Salamis, Solon
 Solon as had been looked upon as the best and wisest
 Archon, 594 of the citizens. In all their troubles the
 B.C. Athenians turned to him, and had he been
 willing to hold absolute power they would no doubt
 have made him tyrant. But Solon had no such ambi-
 tion; he only wanted to help his countrymen to govern
 better, and to make good laws which should live on
 long after his death. As he would not be their king
 the people had elected him archon, so that he might
 bring about the reforms to which he had given so much
 time and thought. His first care was for the improve-
 ment of the lot of the common people.

In those days the condition of the poor in Attica was very sad. All the best land had got into the hands of

the nobles, and what was left for the rest they could scarcely afford to cultivate without borrowing money. For this they had to give a very high rate of interest, and often after a bad harvest they could not pay at all, and were obliged to make over part of their farms to their creditors. Thus it came about that little by little many of the farmers had to give up all their land and work like hired labourers for the new owners. Those who had no farms were still worse off, for if they borrowed money they had nothing to offer in security but their own persons. In this way some poor wretches actually became the property of their rich creditors, and could even be sold out of the country as slaves. This was a very terrible state of things. Solon knew that no changes he made in the laws would be of any use as long as the poor were left at the mercy of the rich. He therefore came forward and spoke boldly to the people, just as he had done when he blamed their cowardice in giving up Salamis, and told the rich men that it was their fault that sorrow had come to Athens. It was not Zeus, he said, nor the mighty lords of Olympus that sought the downfall of Athens, nor Athena who still kept her protecting arms extended over her beloved city,

The sad
plight of the
poor at
Athens.

"No, 'tis the citizens seek our glorious city's destruction,
All for the passion of gold stirring up ruin and woe."

This terrible power of the bad rich men must be checked, and no Athenian must be allowed to make a slave of another. Those who had already been sold as slaves were restored to liberty, and in future no agreement was to be legal in which the debtor promised to pay with his person if he could not do so in money. Parents were forbidden to sell their children as slaves, a thing which many

Solon helps
the poor
debtors.

people had been formerly driven by poverty to do. Solon also cancelled all existing debts, a measure known as the *Seisachtheia*, which means shaking off burdens.

These changes were made in Solon's year of office; and though no one was quite satisfied with them, because the rich were losers and the poor had not gained all they wanted, still they all saw that he had acted for the general good, and they felt sure they could trust him to do what was best for all classes. When he laid down the archon's office they asked him to make a fresh code of laws for Athens. This was very necessary, for great changes had taken place in the country, but the laws had not been altered to suit the new conditions. Some years earlier one of the archons, Draco, had been appointed to draw up a code, but he did little more than collect and write down the old laws, which had hitherto been unwritten. They were very severe, as was the case everywhere in the olden times, when even small thefts were punished by death; and afterwards it became the custom to call very harsh laws Draconian. Solon's task was a far greater one. No one knew better than he the blessing of a well-ordered state.

"Order reveals the beautiful and good,
Round the wrong-doer's hands her chains are hung;
She makes rough places smooth, tames youth's wild blood,
And withers all rank flowers from Ate sprung.
She shapes the way of righteousness; she brings
The proud neck low. With her fair hands she mends
What clamour and strife have marred; all human things
Through her move wisely unto perfect ends."

Such was the happiness Solon hoped to bring to Athens. She needed good government and prosperity, and he knew that no government can be good unless the people have some share in it, nor can a country be

prosperous unless all its citizens have some motive to work hard and better their condition. To bring this about he resolved to break down the power of the few noble families, who had till now enjoyed almost all the power and privileges alone. Even before his time the people had been arranged in classes according to their wealth. In those days property consisted chiefly of land, and its owners were grouped in three classes according to the amount of

The four
classes of
citizens.



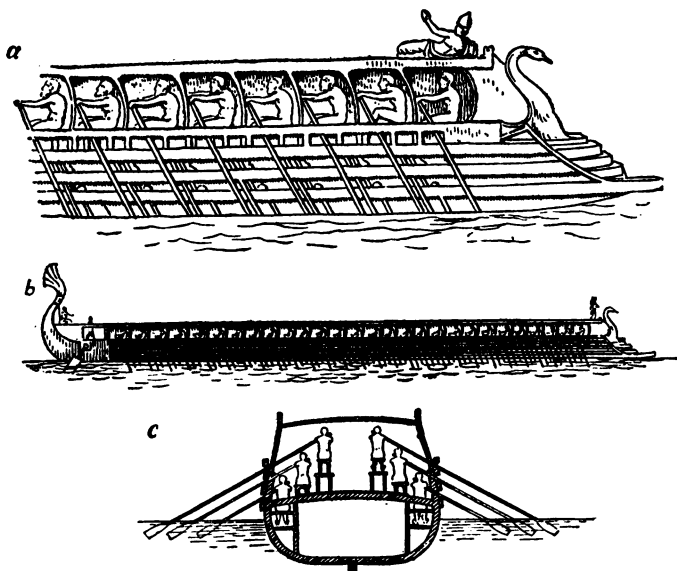
ATHENIAN SOLDIERS.

1. Cavalry; 2. Heavy-armed; 3. Youth.
(From a vase painting in the British Museum.)

corn their estates could produce. Solon now added a fourth class, and gave the common people certain privileges which they had never before enjoyed.

As these classes depended on wealth and not on birth, people were not permanently fixed in them, but might rise to a higher or sink to a lower. Thus a rich man who had earned enough money to buy land would be put into one of the higher classes, while a poor landowner might be forced to sell his estates, and so sink

into a lower class. In this way some persons would always be rising and others sinking. This was a good thing, because the governing classes were constantly being recruited by capable hard-working men, while lazy people who would not take the trouble to cultivate their estates sank into a position of little importance.



TRIEME (GREEK WARSHIP).

a, a portion of a Trireme from a fragment of a relief in the Acropolis Museum, Athens. The bow restored after Pozzo.

b, a Trireme after Lemaitre.

c, a cross section of a Trireme showing position of rowers, after Lemaitre.

The members of the first class had the most privileges, but they also paid at the highest rate whenever it was necessary to tax the citizens. This was a very just plan, for when all are taxed at the same rate it falls much more hardly on the poor than on the rich. The archons and all other chief officials were chosen from the first

class. The second furnished the cavalry, and the third the heavy-armed infantry. The fourth class, which paid no taxes, could hold no office. In time of war they served as light infantry or as rowers in the triremes, warships which were fitted with three rows of oars. Even this class had some voice in the government, for they could attend the Assembly of the people; and under the new arrangement of the law-courts made by Solon men from all classes took their place on the juries. The Assembly had to pass or reject laws after they had been previously discussed in the Council of Four Hundred, and they also elected the archons, and might call them to account after their year of office if they were dissatisfied with their actions. All free citizens of full age enjoyed these rights. In this way Solon made Attica a free country.

There was a very ancient court at Athens called the Areopagus, because it met on the hill of Ares, or Mars. It was said to have been founded by Athena herself, when Orestes came as a fugitive to Athens chased by the Furies. The goddess summoned twelve aged Athenians to decide whether or not Orestes was guilty of the murder of his mother, and when the votes given proved equal she gave the casting vote in Orestes' favour. Ever afterwards cases of murder were to be tried by this court, and it was to the Areopagus that the Messenians had proposed to refer their dispute with Sparta before the outbreak of war between the two. Solon gave this Court some new powers. All archons after their year of office now became members of the Areopagus. It received the right to forbid, or, as we now say, veto, the passing of any law which it considered dangerous to the state. It could also make an enquiry into the life of any citizen, and rebuke those who were idle or did not bring up their children properly.

The Court of
Areopagus.

Solon did not lay down a regular system of education, as Lycurgus did, for, even had he thought it wise, the Athenians would not have put up with so much interference with their private affairs. Still he made several very useful laws for the good of all the people. One rather curious one ordered the punishment of any citizen who remained neutral when the state was divided into parties. He thought every man who loved his country would take one side or the other, and that one who kept neutral and did not care to help either party was likely to shift about just as his own interest prompted, and (1) about taking a side could be of no real use to his country. Such in public affairs ; a man was not allowed to hold any property because he would not know how to use the power this would give him.

Another law forbade any one to speak ill of the dead, or of the living in a temple or court of justice, (2) about speaking ill at the Assembly or the Games. All these of the living : were public places, and to speak ill of people here would be like printing abuse of a person in our newspapers. Those who do this are punished for what is called libel, and Solon was quite right in forbidding this public abuse.

Several of his laws were meant for women, who seem to have been rather extravagant at Athens, especially in their dress. Solon settled (3) about extravagance. how much luggage they might take with them when they travelled; there must not be more than three dresses, the provisions they carried with them must not exceed the value of an obolus (about 1½d.), and the basket in which they packed their clothes must not be more than a foot and a half high. There was a law which limited the number of guests to be invited to a wedding. Another forbade women to attend funerals, with the exception of the very nearest

relations and those who were over sixty. The expenses of funerals were also limited. Solon did this so that too much money should not be spent for useless purposes, else citizens would not have been able to help their countrymen in time of need. No Attic citizen was allowed to engage in any trade unworthy of a free man, but all were encouraged to work, and children were not obliged to support their parents in old age if they had neglected to teach them a trade.

When Solon's laws were completed, they were written down on wooden pillars and set up in public places where all the people could read them. The Athenians promised to keep them for a hundred years; and as Solon wished to be absent from Athens so that no one might ask him questions about the laws or suggest any alterations, he set out once more on his travels. This time he went to Egypt and Asia Minor, and saw many places and talked with many wise men. At the end of ten years he returned to Athens.

Solon sets
out on his
travels.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RISE OF ATHENS TO POWER AND FREEDOM.

WHEN Solon at last returned to Athens he found his laws still in use, but they had not done all Peisistratus. the good that was expected. The lot of the common people was happier, because their new rights protected them against a great deal of oppression and injustice; no Athenian could now become a slave, and poor farmers could borrow money on easier terms. But even Solon, wise as he was, could not invent any plan for suddenly making poor people rich; and it was just because the people had trusted him so completely that they were disappointed when they found he could not work miracles after all. So they were the more ready to listen to any one who would make them great promises. Now that all classes helped to elect the magistrates and had a right to approve or blame their actions, the great nobles saw that it might be worth their while to court the favour of the poorer citizens, who were of course much more numerous than the richer ones. The three parties still continued, and now some member of a noble family placed himself at the head of each. The Plainsmen were led by Lycurgus, and the Shoremen by Megacles, a descendant of that Megacles who had been guilty of sacrilege, for that family had once more been allowed to return to Athens, when Solon reconciled all parties after laying down his laws. At the head of the Uplanders was Peisistratus. It was these poor farmers who had suffered most in the old days, and had hoped

most from Solon. They were disappointed that he did not make a fresh division of all the lands in Attica, and try to do away with the distinction between rich and poor; and they were easily won over by the eloquent speeches and liberal promises of Peisistratus. He was a rich noble, known for his generosity as well as his victories in the Olympic chariot races, gained with a special breed of horses which he reared on his estates at Marathon. Rich, brave and popular, he was just the man to be a people's idol, and he was carefully watching for a fitting moment to put his plans into execution.

At Athens the market-place was the very centre of the city's life. Here men gathered to make their daily purchases, for it was they who did the shopping while the women stayed at home. Here the bankers had their offices in the open air, and Athenians could manage their business and their shopping, gossip with their neighbours and discuss the latest news without ever leaving the market-place. About ten in the morning it was full of busy or gossiping citizens, and this was why Solon had gone there when he wanted to recite his poem on Salamis. One day when the market was at its fullest Peisistratus appeared riding in a chariot. The horses and car were sprinkled with blood and the owner himself was wounded. The people quickly crowded round to hear what had happened. They were told that his life had been attempted by his enemies in the opposing parties. Before they had time to recover from their surprise one of his friends jumped up in the crowd and proposed that, to prevent the repetition of so terrible an event, a bodyguard should be given to Peisistratus to defend his person. No one made any objection, and from this time he went everywhere attended by a guard of fifty men, armed with clubs.

He asks for a
bodyguard.

Soon these became 100, then 300, then 400 ; at last he had quite a little army in his pay, all ready to carry out any order their master gave them. His rivals now began to arm their followers, but they were not as strong or as popular as Peisistratus. Solon raised his voice against his kinsman's action, for both belonged to the same noble house. In vain he warned the people of their mistake in putting too much power into one man's hands. Could not they see what Peisistratus was aiming at?

"Each of you singly can hold the track of a fox in your cunning,
But when you meet in a herd your soul goeth empty away,
Caught by the wile of the tongue, the shifting words of a mortal.

No one heeded Solon's warning. Peisistratus became tyrant of Athens, and Megacles, his only dangerous rival, went into exile. As for Solon, he knew he could not stem the tide of popular feeling, but he had done his duty in speaking out. He placed his sword and shield in front of his door, to show that he did not mean to resist any violence the tyrant might offer him. Peisistratus, who was not a bad man, treated his aged relative with respect, but the two were never quite reconciled, for Solon could not help grieving over the destruction of his dream that all men should be equal before the law at Athens.

The first tyranny of Peisistratus did not last long. His two rivals joined together and with the help of the Shoremen drove him out. But he still kept his hold over the Uplanders, and trusted that some day they would restore him to power. His hope was not disappointed. Through the quarrels of his rivals he was able to win over Megacles to his side and, to make the alliance still closer, he arranged to marry his daughter. Peisistratus and Megacles now devised a very curious plot. At the

He becomes
tyrant.

He is ex-
pelled and
returns

great festivals of the gods solemn processions through the streets were held, which the people flocked to see. One day during one of the chief festivals at Athens a procession of this kind was seen to enter the city. Gaily clad youths and maidens escorted a magnificent chariot, in which sat Peisistratus. By his side rode a tall, beautiful woman armed with spear and shield. As they rode on, she called out to the people that they must receive back Peisistratus, since this was the will of Athena. They actually believed that this was the goddess who had come down from Olympus on purpose to show favour to the tyrant. They dared not disobey, but immediately threw open the gates of the Acropolis.

Peisistratus was now a second time master of Athens, but his position was not yet secure. Before long he offended Megacles, who, with the help of his old partisans, drove him out once more. This time he crossed over to Euboea, the long, narrow island off the east coast of Greece, and settled down at the town of Eretria with his sons Hippias and Hipparchus. He lived there in exile for ten years, but he never gave up the hope of getting back to Athens. At Eretria he lived in princely fashion, for the money he got from his estates in Attica and his silver mines in Thrace was sent to him there; and he was still powerful enough to make alliances with Thebes, Thessaly and Macedonia, just as if he had been a reigning prince. Volunteers came to him from distant parts, even from the south of Italy, and threw in their lot with him; and in this way he gradually collected an army. At last the time for action seemed come. Feeling at Athens was once more coming round to his side, and he had plenty of friends to send him word of the change in men's minds. Peisistratus now took his army across the narrow strait called Euripus, which separates Euboea from the mainland.

His exile at
Eretria.

He returns a
second time.

They landed on the plain of Marathon, where his own estates lay and he might hope to find friends. Here his forces received a considerable addition. Of course his coming had been reported at Athens, and an army was sent out which fell in with his troops at Pallene. Peisistratus, who had himself commanded Athenian armies, knew that the soldiers when in camp were in the habit of giving the hour directly after the morning meal to rest or recreation, and that this would be the time to find them off their guard. Accordingly he chose that moment for attack. The Athenians, being surprised, were in disorder and easily put to flight. Peisistratus, who did not wish to be regarded as an enemy, gave orders not to kill the fugitives. He sent his sons after them to calm their fears, and promise that no harm should befall them. Once more Peisistratus was established as tyrant, once more the Alcmaeonids went into exile, while from the other leading families who remained at Athens he took four hundred hostages, to secure their loyalty. He kept some of the foreign soldiers as his bodyguard, for he did not mean to be driven out a third time.

Athens under
Peisistratus. Peisistratus remained tyrant or king of Athens till his death in 527 B.C. These were not unhappy years for Attica, for he was no harsh ruler.

He left the people all their rights, and allowed them to meet as before in the Assembly and choose their magistrates, though it was generally arranged for the chief archon to be a member of his family. He made some new laws, but most of these were good and humane. He ordered the state to provide for men who had been wounded in war, and support the families of those who had been killed in action. He was anxious that more people should settle in the country, for the city was growing too full, and the country was neglected. He let out land on easy terms to poor

farmers, made them presents of grain and seed, and encouraged the planting of olives throughout Attica. Hitherto Athens had been the only seat of justice, and poor countrymen had been obliged to come into town when they had any law business to attend to, and their farms suffered in consequence. Now special magistrates were appointed for the country districts, and they became less dependent on Athens. These changes were good, and helped to make the people richer as well as more peaceful. They had to pay a land-tax on their farms, at which some of them grumbled a good deal, but the money Peisistratus collected he seems to have spent to good purpose. One of his great works was the improvement and enlargement of Athens.✓

The Acropolis had always been the very heart and centre of Athens, indeed at one time its narrow surface was all that could claim the name of city, just as once upon a time what we now call the City was all there was of London. As time went on, houses were built in the plain as well, and still later what had once been villages became suburbs of the town. All this had come about gradually and without any regular plan of building. Peisistratus now made great changes. He had roads built in all directions, to connect Athens with the country districts, and all the roads started from the same point in a suburb to the north-west of the city, called Cera-meicus, which means Potters' Town. Here they erected an altar to the twelve great gods whom all the Greeks worshipped. From this point they calculated the distances to the country districts, ports, and the chief Hellenic sanctuaries, so that any one who wanted to know how far it was to Delphi or Olympia need only go and read what was marked on the tablets in the Cerameicus. That was very useful, for in those days there were no maps or guide-books to tell people about

Improve-
ments in the
city.

places they wanted to visit. All along the roads too there were mile-stones, very different from those we are accustomed to see in England. These were little works of art, carved figures of Hermes, the god of boundaries and protector of travellers. On the pedestals verses were cut giving the names of the places along the road, and some little proverb or pithy saying to cheer the traveller. In this way the roads were made pleasant and safe for the people of Attica and the foreign visitors, whom they were always glad to welcome. Before this time Athens had been dependent for water on the little spring below the Acropolis which had served its ancient lords. This was no longer sufficient. Peisistratus built a splendid aqueduct which brought a constant supply of water from the mountains to the city, and the streams were united in a large rocky basin, and purified before the water was led away to the public wells.

While Peisistratus thus provided for the needs of his people he did not forget to honour the gods. In the Aegean sea midway between Greece and Asia lay the little island of Delos, which dwellers on both sides of the water honoured as the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis. As Delphi rose in the esteem of the Greeks, Delos gradually fell into neglect, and so little regard was paid to the temple that some of the ground in its precincts had actually been used for burials. This was desecration in the eyes of the Greeks, who thought that the immortal gods should be kept from all contact with death. Before Delos could be restored to its ancient honour the dead bodies must be removed out of sight of the temple. Peisistratus sailed to Delos with a number of ships, purified the sanctuary by causing the corpses to be dug up and buried further off; then he restored the worship of Apollo and celebrated the ancient festival with full honours.

The island
of Delos is
purified.

Of all the gods the one dearest to the Athenians was Pallas Athena, goddess of war and wisdom, whose ancient wooden statue stood in the temple of Erechtheus, where she and Poseidon were worshipped side by side. Peisistratus built a new temple, where she was worshipped as protectress of the city, and adorned it with sculptures representing the battle between the gods and giants. He revived the festival in her honour which was said to have been founded by Erechtheus and celebrated by Theseus, and made it far more splendid than it had ever been before. Every year a beautiful new robe was worked for the statue of the goddess, and carried in procession, stretched out like a sail on the rollers of a ship, through the streets of Athens and up to the Acropolis, where it was solemnly dedicated. With it marched the best of the Athenian cavalry, the fairest of the maidens and the noblest and most honoured of the citizens. We can see in the British Museum parts of the frieze which represented this procession. It is the work of Pheidias who made the sculptures for the Parthenon, the great temple of the goddess, built a century after Peisistratus.

The festival of Athena is revived.

Many changes were now made in the festival. Foot-races, wrestling and boxing matches like those held at Olympia were added, and jars of olive oil were given as prizes to the winners. They were ornamented with figures, on one side a picture of the goddess, on the other a pair of boxers or wrestlers or some other scene from the sports. Many of these jars are now in the British Museum. Peisistratus also made recitations from Homer a regular part of the festival. Before his time there had been no fixed order for the different parts of the poems and, as they were usually recited from memory, changes would naturally creep in. Peisistratus invited to

The works of Homer and Hesiod are collected.



SCENES FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE.
(British Museum.)

Athens all the persons who were best acquainted with those poems, and ordered them to compare their versions and discuss the differences and get as perfect a set of them together as could be obtained. Then the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were written down in Attic characters in almost the same form in which they have come down to us. The works of Hesiod, another ancient poet, were collected in the same way, and these books were kept in a building on the Acropolis along with a collection of oracles that referred specially to Athens. Anacreon



GREEK WRESTLERS.
(From a vase painting.)

and Simonides, the two chief living poets, were invited to settle at Athens, and were held in the greatest honour by Peisistratus.

Thus the rule of the tyrant brought with it the beauty, safety and prosperity of the city, but it took away one thing that in later times the Athenians valued even more highly: their freedom and equality. Perhaps his rule was good and useful then, though when the people learned more about self-government they were able to stand alone without a lord and

Hippias,
son of
Peisistratus,
succeeds his
father, 527
B.C.

master. But now no one objected when at the death of Peisistratus his eldest son Hippias succeeded him. First all went well, and he ruled wisely as his father

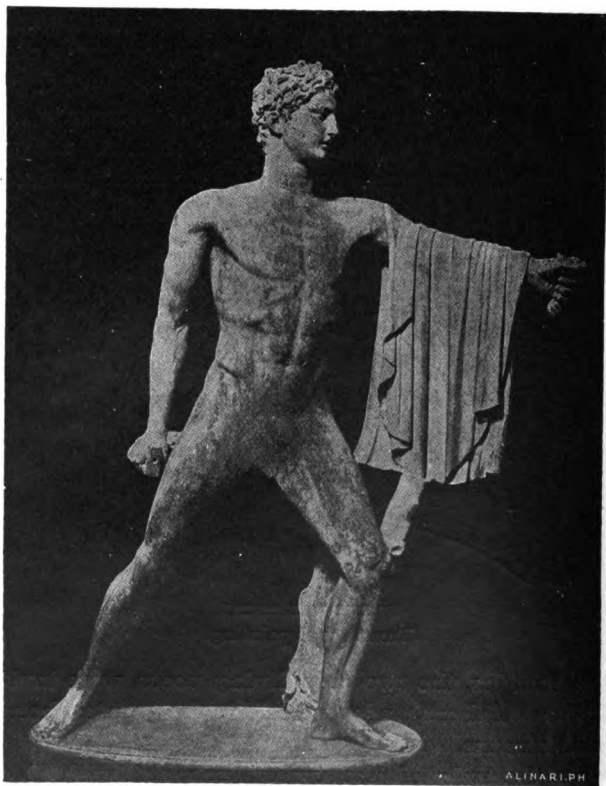


Photo. : Alinari Bros., Florence.

HARMODIUS.
(Naples Museum.)

had done, but after a while he seemed to forget that Peisistratus really owed his power to the goodwill of the people, without whom he could not have kept it. Hippias and his brother Hipparchus grew proud and

harsh, and acted as though they held their place by right and the grace of the gods. Hipparchus was even worse than his brother ; and at last by his insolent

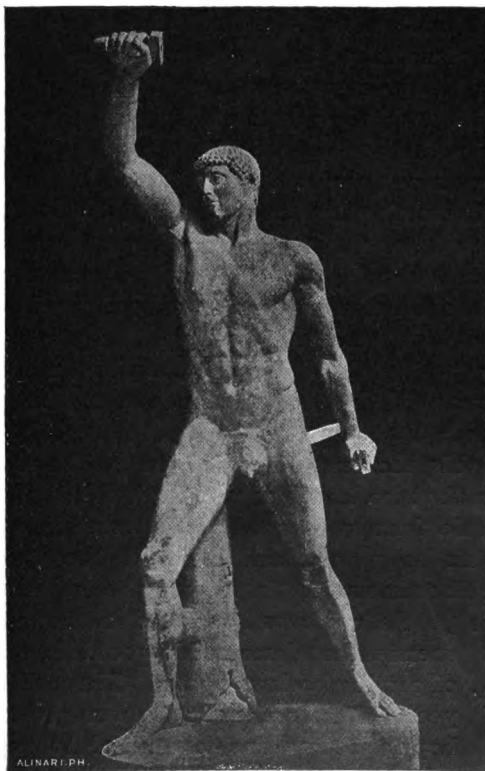


Photo.: Alinari Bros., Florence.

ARISTOGEITON.
(Naples Museum.)

behaviour he offended a young Athenian named Harmodius. He and his friend Aristogeiton began to talk to their companions about the evils of tyranny, and at last

**Plot against
Hippias and
Hipparchus,
514 B.C.**

they made a plot to kill Hippias and Hipparchus and so restore freedom to Athens. The great festival of Athena was chosen for carrying out their plan. All the noblest Athenian youths took part in the procession, armed with lance and shield and carrying branches of myrtle. The two friends joined the crowd with their daggers concealed under their cloaks, and awaited a favourable moment for striking. Hippias was in the Cerameicus arranging the procession, and the conspirators were carefully watching his movements. Presently they saw a young man who was in the plot step up to the tyrant and begin a conversation with him. Fearing that they were betrayed they hurried back to the city, where they met Hipparchus and killed him with their daggers. Harmodius was instantly put to death by the guards. Aristogeiton was seized with his weapon upon him and tortured till he died.

From this moment Hippias was a changed man. Realising that he had lost the love of his people, he tried to rule them by fear only. He increased the taxes, doubled his bodyguard, and behaved like a tyrant in fact as well as in name. In this way he estranged more and more people, and now it seemed as though his old enemies the Alcmaeonids would have a chance

The Alcmaeonids win the favour of Delphi.

of getting back to power. Through the long years of exile they had never given up the hope of return, for the love of Athens was so strongly implanted in all her citizens that they could never feel happy away from her. Even at a distance the Alcmaeonids were closely watching events at home, and they had not failed to make the most of an opportunity for regaining popularity that chance threw in their way. In the year 548 the temple at Delphi had been accidentally burnt down, and the Amphictions decided to rebuild it out of funds which the whole of

Greece was to provide. It would cost 300 talents (about £70,000 of our money) and the Delphians were to supply a quarter of the amount. At last after a good many years all the money was got together, and then the Alcmaeonids came forward with an offer to rebuild it for a fixed sum. Their offer was accepted and they built it most magnificently, making every part more precious and beautiful than the contract required. The frontage which was to have been of limestone they made of the best Parian marble, and the sculptures that adorned it both within and without were of the finest workmanship. The expense this involved was defrayed by the contractors. In this way they earned the gratitude of all Hellenes and particularly of the Delphians. The curse was forgotten, and they stood forth as an example of god-fearing piety. The oracle now took their side, and insisted on their restoration from exile. This was impossible as long as the family of Peisistratus was in power, but the oracle began to urge on Sparta the duty of delivering Athens. Whenever the Spartans sent to ask any question of the oracle they received the same answer: "First deliver Athens". At last they resolved to send an army into Attica. Their first attempt was repulsed, but a second expedition was more successful. Hippias and his friends were besieged on the Acropolis, and meantime his children, whom he was secretly sending out of Attica, fell into the enemy's hands. To save their lives, Hippias surrendered and promised to leave Athens within five days.

Hippias is driven out of Athens, 510 B.C.

Thus ended the tyranny. It was really the Spartans and Alcmaeonids who put an end to it, but in after times the people forgot this and called Harmodius and Aristogeiton the liberators of Athens. They put up statues in their honour and composed a song in their praise, which began:—

"With myrtle for a sheath I'll wear the sword
Harmodius and Aristogeiton drew,
The day they smote and killed the tyrant lord,
And gave to Athens freedom fair and true."

Athens was now free, but she was not to enjoy peace. There were still two parties in the state. At the head of one was Cleisthenes, chief of the Alcmaeonids who had now returned victoriously to Athens, and the other was led by Isagoras, an ambitious young noble, who led the party of the aristocracy against the people. At first Cleisthenes got the upper hand, for he proposed laws for the benefit of the people, and thus won great numbers to his side. Isagoras, seeing that the Athenians would not come over to him of their own free will, sent messages to his friend Cleomenes, king of Sparta, and begged him to come and help him. By this time the Spartans had found out that they had been tricked by the oracle into driving out the Athenian tyrants for the benefit of the Alcmaeonids. This made them very angry and as they were jealous of the growing power of Athens, they were by no means disinclined to accept this invitation. Cleomenes first sent a herald to Athens to demand the expulsion of the "accursed race". Thereupon Cleisthenes left the city, but all the same Cleomenes marched into Attica, and ordered the Athenians to adopt a different plan of government. By his orders Isagoras was elected archon and seven hundred families exiled who belonged to the opposition party. But when he actually tried to dissolve the Council which Solon had established, and put in its place a senate like the one at Sparta, the members refused to take their dismissal from a Spartan king, and invited all the citizens to come to their aid. They hurried to Athens under arms and besieged Cleomenes, Isagoras and their party on the Acropolis. As Cleomenes

Cleisthenes
and Isagoras.

Cleisthenes is
expelled by
the Spartans.

had too small an army to resist an attack, he was forced to come to terms, and accept a free pass to leave the city in safety with his soldiers. Isagoras too escaped, but many of his followers were taken and put to death.

Cleisthenes now returned to Athens, but he had still many difficulties to face. Ever since Solon's changes Athens had been growing stronger and more independent, and the result was that jealousy had brought her a great many enemies. Chief of these were the Thebans. Thebes was the largest city in Boeotia, the state that lay to the north-west of Attica. It was natural enough that two cities like Athens and Thebes should be rivals and enemies, but Thebes had a special cause of quarrel with Athens. All the cities of Boeotia acknowledged her as head of a league, except the little town of Plataea. In consequence of some unfair treatment on the part of Thebes, Plataea had determined to break away from the Boeotian League and seek an alliance elsewhere. She took the opportunity of the presence of a Spartan army north of the isthmus to send an embassy to Cleomenes, asking him to take Plataea under his protection. Cleomenes pointed out that Sparta was a long way off, and Plataea might be attacked and conquered before an army could be sent to its aid. Why not apply to Athens for help? She was a near neighbour, as well as a powerful one, and would surely not refuse. No doubt the Spartan king gave this advice in the hope of causing a quarrel between Athens and Thebes. Anyway this is what happened. The Plataeans sent messengers to Athens, who arrived there just as a solemn sacrifice was being offered to the twelve gods. They fell down before the altar and besought the Athenians to protect them against Thebes. In return they promised that Plataea

Cleisthenes
returns, 508
B.C.

Plataea
becomes an
ally of
Athens.

should be subject to Athens. The Athenians granted their prayer, and when soon afterwards Thebes attacked Plataea, they sent troops to protect it, and repulsed the Thebans. From this time forth Athens had no more bitter enemy than Thebes.

Cleomenes had been forced to leave Athens ignominiously, but he had every intention of returning. Next time he meant to bring a larger army, and if possible persuade the other enemies of Athens to attack her at the

**The Spartans
again invade
Attica, 506
B.C.**

same time. The allies of Sparta throughout the Peloponnesus were invited to send forces; and the two kings put themselves at their head and advanced as far as Eleusis in Attica. Not till then were the allies told against whom they were marching. When they found out they at once began to make difficulties. The Corinthians declared that they had no quarrel with Athens and would not fight against her. Others followed their example, and then the Spartan kings fell to quarrelling among themselves. The result was the break up of the whole army, which left Attica without striking a blow.

The Athenians were now free to engage with their other enemies, for the Boeotians and their allies the Chalcidians (see map, p. 142), in Euboea, who were jealous of the rising power of Athens, had arranged to make war on her

**Athens
overcomes
Boeotia and
Chalcis.**

at the same time as the Spartans. Without waiting to be attacked the Athenians at once marched across the border and defeated the Boeotians before their allies had time to come and help them. On the very day of the battle they went across the Euripus to attack the Chalcidians, and won a second victory before nightfall. In both battles they took a great many prisoners, and these were made to pay high ransoms. One-tenth of the money was spent on a beautiful

four-horse chariot in bronze, which was dedicated to Athena, with this inscription :—

“ Athens’ sons overcame the troops of Boeotia and Chalcis,
 Winning the victor’s meed in the encounter of war,
 Quenching their insolence thus in gloomy fetters of iron,
 Athens to Pallas these steeds gave, of her booty a tithe.”

The chains with which the prisoners had been bound were also hung up in the Acropolis as a trophy.

Athens was now able to enjoy victory and peace. She had triumphed over her enemies, and shown that another power had grown up in Greece which could prove a formidable rival to Sparta. This was the beginning of Athenian greatness, which was founded on freedom. Cleisthenes had taken the people into partnership, as Herodotus puts it, and given them a greater share in the management of the state. He was now trusted by every one at Athens, and allowed to complete his reforms.

Up to this time the inhabitants of Attica had been classed in four divisions known as the Ionic tribes as well as in the three parties of the Mountain, Shore and Plain. Cleisthenes wanted to put an end to these quarrels and also to the clannish feeling among the old Attic families which so often kept the best men out of office. In order to do away with this he made an entirely fresh distribution of the inhabitants. All the people of Attica were now arranged in ten tribes, and each tribe was made up of demes. The tribes were named after heroes, such as Cecrops and Erechtheus, and the statues of all ten were put up in the market-place at Athens. The demes were villages or districts which elected their own governor (demarch), who held office for a year. Each deme kept a list of its members, which included all the old citizens and a good many new ones, for the right of citizenship was now given to some of the slaves who

Changes
made by
Cleisthenes.

The tribes
and demes.

had been set free, as well as to foreigners who had settled here as traders and made Attica their home. The demes were arranged in groups, of which there were thirty in all, and three of these groups made up a tribe. They were so arranged that of the three one would include city demes, another coast demes, and the third inland demes. Cleisthenes made this arrangement so that no tribe should be made up only of persons living near each other or sharing the same interests, for he knew how much harm had been done by the old parties, and he wanted all Athenians to work together for the good of Attica and not merely for the people who lived in the Plain or on the Shore. All the meetings of the tribes were held at Athens, to which people from all three groups could come.

This change of tribes brought about a change in the Council. Its numbers were raised from 400 to 500, fifty from each tribe. The year was divided afresh into ten periods of thirty-five or thirty-six days each, and the councillors from each tribe took it in turns to act as a committee for managing the business during one of these periods. Those who were in office were boarded and lodged at the public expense in a round building called the Tholos which stood near the Council-hall. Each set of fifty was divided into five bodies of ten, and each group of ten presided for seven days over all the meetings of the Council and Assembly. Every day a fresh chairman was chosen, and during the twenty-four hours in which he held office he had charge of the keys of the Acropolis and treasury, as well as the great seal of the state. Next morning he had to pass them on to his successor.

By this arrangement the whole people was now represented on the Council, and as this managed most of the public business, every Athenian citizen had now either directly or indirectly

The
Assembly.

a part in the government. The old Assembly, which every one might attend without being elected, also continued and had to meet at regular intervals, at least once during the presidency of each of the ten tribes. It was larger than before, because there were so many new citizens, and any one of these had a right to address the meeting, so long as he could find people willing to listen to him. After a time the Assembly used to meet so often that the people got tired of attending, and then it was sometimes difficult to collect enough persons to transact the business, just as it sometimes happens in the House of Commons that there are not enough members present to "make a house," as it is called, and then a debate has to stop. The Athenians had a very odd way of filling the Assembly on these occasions. The presidents used to send out public slaves with a rope smeared with red paint, and with this they swept in the men who were standing about chattering or idling in the neighbouring streets. People often ran away when they saw the rope coming, but if any one got near enough to show a mark of red paint on his clothes he could be fined for trying to neglect his duty. But this custom did not grow up till long after the time of Cleisthenes.

CHAPTER VII.¹

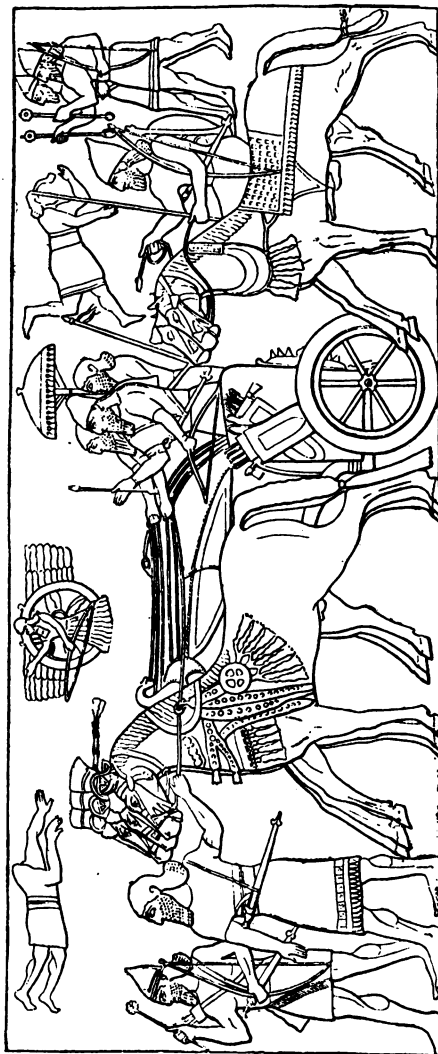
THE RISE OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

WE are coming now to the most stirring time in Greek History, when this little country was to measure its strength against the greatest kingdom of Asia, and what is more wonderful, come off victorious. From the Indus on the East to the Aegean and Hellespont on the West, the Great King, as the Greeks called the Persian monarch, was master. Even Egypt, once the home of the mighty Pharaohs, had been made subject to him. Never yet had one man ruled over so vast an empire. But great and powerful as were the Persians they were newcomers in the land. A thousand years earlier, Assyria had been mistress of Western Asia. Even before this time an older people, the Babylonians, had ruled here, but they were gradually overcome by the Assyrians. Their capital, Nineveh, lay on the Tigris, and Babylon the capital of the older kingdom on the Euphrates. The land between these two rivers belonged to Assyria, and its kings carried their arms far beyond. In the west they subdued Syria and Palestine, and forced Cyprus to pay tribute; and a column set up in this island told how seven kings, who lived at a distance of seven days in the middle of the western sea, trembled before the Assyrian lord. They carried their rule to the East and the North, and here at last they met the people that was destined to

The dominion
of Persia.

The
Assyrians.

¹ See map facing p. 46.



ASSYRIAN KING'S CHARIOT AND SOLDIERS.
(From the British Museum.)

lay the power of Assyria low. Of this the prophet Jeremiah had declared: "For lo, I will raise and cause

to come up against Babylon an assembly of great nations from the north country : and they shall set themselves in array against her : from thence she shall be taken : their arrows shall be as of a mighty expert man : none shall return in vain". These mighty

**The Medes
and Persians.**

archers were the Medes and Persians, who had come out of the north-east making their way through many lands and conquering as they went. Sometimes they drove out the inhabitants and took their land from them, but usually they settled among them, and the old and the new became one people. For a while the Medes were subject to the Assyrian power, but at last they grew so strong that they shook off the yoke and chose a king of their own, who lived in great splendour at Ecbatana in a palace girt round with a sevenfold wall. As Media grew stronger Assyria grew weaker, and Babylon seized the opportunity to revolt and declare itself independent. Under Nabopolassar it entered into alliance with Cyaxares, king of the Medes, and they made a

**The fall of
Nineveh,
606 B.C.**

joint attack on Nineveh. The city held out for a long time, but at last the river was flooded, the force of the torrent broke down a piece of the wall, and a breach was made. One of the old historians tells a strange tale about this siege. When the king heard that the enemy was within the gates he sent for his wives and children and placed them on a great pyre, together with all his treasures and the images of the gods. Then he caused it to be set on fire, and in the flames he perished himself with his household and his wealth. Thus fell the proud city of Nineveh, as it had been foretold by the prophets : "The chariots shall rage in the streets, they shall jostle one another in the broad ways". "The gates of thy land shall be set wide open upon their enemies ; the fire shall devour thy bars." "Thy shepherds slumber, O

king of Assyria: thy nobles shall dwell in the dust: thy people is scattered upon the mountains and no man gathereth them."

The Assyrian Empire now broke up entirely, and its lands were shared between the two rival kingdoms. Of course each wanted to be the more powerful and to take the place formerly held by Assyria, but at first they had enough to do without attacking one another. On the west Media gradually conquered as far as the river Halys, beyond which lay the kingdom of Lydia. Here lived a warlike race of horsemen who were strong enough to resist the attacks of their eastern neighbours. The kingdom of Lydia extended as far as the sea, yet the greater part of the coast really belonged to another people. The shores of Asia Minor were everywhere dotted with cities which were almost as much a part of Greece as those on the other side of the Aegean.

These towns were called colonies, but the Greeks did not understand the same as we do by that word. Their colonies were towns founded by emigrants from some other city who left it because its population was growing too big or because they did not like the form of government, or simply from love of adventure; and went to seek a new home in a distant land. Some settled on the shores of the Black Sea and others on the coast of Asia Minor; and as many of these belonged to the Ionic race, this latter group of towns was often called Ionia. Many sailed to the west to Sicily and southern Italy, and carried their language and customs with them; and the people among whom they settled learned to copy their ways and became almost Greek themselves. Indeed the Italian colonies gradually took the name Great Greece, just as people often speak of our colonies as Greater Britain. The colonists looked out for sites near fertile

Lydia.

The Ionian colonies.

land or with good harbours, that they might be conveniently situated for trading; and many of these towns became very rich, richer even than the mother city that had sent them out. The colonies were independent, but paid honour and sometimes dues to the mother country. They worshipped the same deities, and always carried the images of the gods with them when they set out to seek a new home. They also took some fire from the altar in the temple, and no colony ever set forth without seeking the blessing of Apollo. They would have thought it impious to break the tie with the mother city which had been the home of their ancestors, and even when they lived in the midst of an Asiatic people the Greeks never forgot their Hellenic origin.

For many generations the Ionian cities continued to grow and flourish undisturbed by their neighbours, with whom they kept up friendly intercourse, doing business with them and carrying part of their trade. It happened,

**They are
attacked by
the king of
Lydia.**

however, somewhere about 600 B.C. that a new royal family mounted the throne of Lydia. They were more warlike and ambitious than their predecessors had been; and it was not long before they cast covetous looks on these wealthy foreign cities. Since they were planted in Lydian territory, it was surely right, so the kings thought, that they should acknowledge their sovereignty. A series of attacks was now made on these cities, and Miletus, which was the largest and richest, was the first to suffer. The Lydians defeated its army in the field, but could not take the city. At last the king tried to starve it into submission. Every mid-summer, just when the corn and fruit were beginning to ripen, he led an army into Milesian territory to beat down the corn and fell the trees to the sound of music. This went on for eleven years, during which time a new king, whose name was Alyattes, ascended the throne.

It happened that in one of their destructive expeditions the troops had accidentally set fire to the temple of Athena. As the king did not want to commit any offence against the Greek religion, he offered to rebuild it at his own expense. The citizens, who knew that the king's messengers were on their way to Miletus, carried all their stores into the market-place, spreading them out to the best advantage; and when the heralds arrived they found the people feasting and carrying on business just as though their crops had been safely gathered all these years. The king now at last understood that without ships he could not starve out a seaport, because it could always get in supplies by water. He agreed to a treaty of alliance with Miletus and in place of the temple he built two new sanctuaries to commemorate the peaceful ending of the war.

Alyattes might not have given in so easily, had he not feared the approach of other, more formidable enemies. By this time Nineveh had fallen; and Media, which had proved strong enough to give Assyria its deathblow, was coming dangerously near to Lydia. Cyaxares the king was rapidly pushing westward. He had already subdued Armenia, and now he was coming down from the mountain lands and making his way towards the fertile river plains. Alyattes must prepare to go out and meet him, if he did not want to be attacked and overwhelmed in his own borders. The two armies met in the valley of the Halys, and the fate of Lydia hung in the balance. Just before the trumpets sounded for attack, a great darkness came on, so that the combatants could no longer see one another. It was an eclipse of the sun that caused it, but the kings took it as a sign from heaven not to fight, and made terms of peace. The son of Cyaxares was to marry the daughter of Alyattes; the two kings were to become friends, and the river

Media
attacks
Lydia, 585
B.C.

Peace is made. Halys was to remain the boundary between them for all time. This boundary was respected and kept, until a Lydian king himself led an army across it and so brought about his own ruin.

Croesus, king of Lydia, 560 B.C. On the death of Alyattes the throne fell to his son Croesus. As he had no foreign wars to occupy him, there was nothing to turn his attention from the Ionian cities. Croesus, like his father, had a great admiration for

the Greeks, and would have liked them to consider him one of themselves and not a barbarian. He therefore tried all means of winning their friendship. He had some beautiful statues and cups made in gold and silver, and sent them as offerings to the shrines of Apollo at Delphi and other places. Out of gratitude he was made a citizen of Delphi; and the envoys he sent to the Pythian Games were allowed seats of honour near the Greek envoys. Now that he had won acknowledgment from the most sacred place in Greece, he

He wins over the Ionian cities. hoped that the Ionian cities would submit of their own free will. His hopes, however, were not fulfilled, and there was nothing for

it but force. First he laid siege to Ephesus, and the defenders resolved to see whether Croesus really respected their religion as he professed to do. They fastened long ropes round the turrets on the city walls and connected them with the temple of Artemis (Diana), for even in those days this goddess was worshipped at Ephesus, just as she was in the time of St. Paul. In this way the whole city was consecrated to her, and it would be sacrilege to do it any injury. Croesus at once stopped the attack, and the Ephesians, seeing that his professions were sincere, surrendered on favourable terms. They were to keep their liberty, but in future recognise the sovereignty of Croesus, and pay him a small yearly tribute. This moderation did Croesus

good service, for it was not long before the other cities offered their submission. They all kept their independence, and were allowed to carry on their trade as before. This was a good thing for all parties, for the cities themselves grew richer and they helped still further to enrich Croesus who was already master of the richest country in the world. What with the produce of his mines, the golden sands that the river Pactolus washed down to the very gates of the capital, and the tribute that poured unceasingly into the king's treasury, Croesus soon found himself the richest monarch in Asia. Even now we sometimes call a wealthy man a regular Croesus. In those days he was Croesus the fortunate as well. To Sardis, his capital, flocked the best artists and the wisest teachers from every land, for all who had something to bring were sure of a welcome. A rich and generous prince, ruling over a brave people, honoured by friend and dreaded by foe, Croesus used to boast that there was none more fortunate among the sons of men.

The riches
of Croesus.

The first break in his happiness was the death of his best beloved son. Yet he might have been consoled even for this loss, had he not in his folly and presumption led an army across the Halys. The enemy he now went to meet was not the Median king with whom his father had sworn eternal friendship. Since the day when the eclipse had stopped the battle, great changes had taken place in the eastern lands. The power of the Mede had been overthrown, and the Persian reigned in his stead.

Among the nations which Cyaxares led against Assyria were the ten tribes of the Persians.

While the Medes were little by little copying the habits of the conquered Assyrians and growing luxurious and idle, the Persians still lived as

The
Persians.

shepherds and mountaineers. They dressed in skins, and lived on simple and often scanty fare. They offered their sacrifices under the free vault of heaven in open spaces or on mountain tops; and they built no costly temples nor fashioned images of the gods. The object of their worship was Ormuzd, lord of all good, spirit of wisdom and light, who wages unceasing war with Ahriman, spirit of evil. The Lydians and Greeks they despised as idolators. Their manner of life was simple, and they taught their boys three things only; to ride, to shoot, and to speak the truth. Truth the Persians prized above all things, though it has been said that they valued it so much because they practised it so little. The greatest crime in their eyes was a lie, and it was almost as bad to get into debt, because this was a sort of untruthfulness.

These tribes had been conquered by the Medes, and lived in the southern part of their empire in the province of Elam. The man fated to overthrow the Median power was himself half a Mede, for his mother was the daughter of the king, Astyages, and had married Cambyses, a Persian prince. Now the king had a dream which showed how from his daughter sprang a vine which overshadowed the whole of Asia. As he believed in dreams, like Pharaoh and many other kings of old, he sent for interpreters who told him that his daughter's child should reign in his place. Soon after this a little boy was born to Cambyses and Mandane. Then Astyages summoned Harpagus, one of his most trusted ministers, and bade him take the child and kill it. Harpagus promised to obey, but he thought to himself that perhaps one day Astyages might repent of the deed, and blame him for the murder. He therefore resolved that, if the child must die, it should be at the hands of one of the king's own servants. He sent a messenger to the chief royal

The birth of
Cyrus.

cowherd and bade him take the infant to a desert place in the mountains and there leave it to perish, since such was the king's good pleasure. As this man did not dare say no, he took the child and carried it home to his wife thinking to take counsel with her. It happened that on that very day a little baby had been born to her, but had died at once; and when her husband came in he found her crying over the little corpse. When he had told his tale she begged to be allowed to keep the baby he had brought, and proposed that they should put the dead one in the cradle with all the fine clothes, and take it to the desert place instead of the live one. The cowherd consented; three days later they sent word to Harpagus that the child was dead and he sent his servants to bury it.

Thus it came about that Cyrus grew up in the mountain hut, and called the cowherd and his wife father and mother. He was a strong, healthy lad, a great favourite among the other children of the village, with whom he played all sorts of games. One of these was to choose a boy as their king, who set the others to work, calling some his ministers, others his guard of honour, so that each undertook some duty in play. On one of these occasions Cyrus was chosen king; and as one of the boys refused to do his bidding, he told the others to give him a good beating. The boy ran home and complained to his father, a rich man in a high position, who was very indignant that a cowherd's child should take the liberty of ordering his son about. He actually went and complained to the king, and asked him to punish the cowherd for the liberty taken by his son. Astyages, who had great regard for this man, sent for the cowherd and his boy, and asked Cyrus how he dared insult a rich man's son. Then Cyrus answered unabashed: "O King, what I did to him I did justly. The boys in the village and this one

His bringing-up.

among them, chose me their king in play, because they thought me best suited for the honour. All the other boys performed their allotted tasks, but this one was disobedient and paid no heed to my command, and that is why he was punished. Now if for this crime I deserve chastisement, here I am." All the time the boy was speaking, Astyages watched him intently, and could not help being struck by the noble, almost royal bearing of Cyrus and the resemblance he bore to himself. He began to question the cowherd, and gradually learned the truth: how Harpagus had sent for him and bidden him take and kill the child, and how he had yielded to the prayers of his wife and exposed the dead body and brought up the royal babe as his own. When the king had heard the whole story he sent for Harpagus and bade him bring his son with him to the palace, and as a punishment for his father's disobedience this boy was most cruelly put to death. However the king treated his newly found grandson kindly, and asked the dream interpreters whether it would be safe to let him live. They promised Astyages that there was nothing more to fear. The dream showed that Cyrus was to reign in his grandfather's lifetime, but he had already reigned, since the village boys had made him their king; therefore the dream was fulfilled. So the boy was sent to Persia to his real father and mother, to be brought up as a prince and not as a cowherd.

Time passed, and Cyrus grew to manhood, and had almost forgotten his life as a boy. But one person had not forgotten, and that was Harpagus. He had never forgiven the king for his son's death, and had for years been nursing plans of revenge, which he meant to carry out through Cyrus. Astyages, as he grew older, had become cruel and tyrannical, and many of the Medes

He resolves
to seize the
throne.

were ready to revolt from him. This was partly due to Harpagus, who had done all in his power to stir up discontent. When at last he thought a fitting time was come, he sent a message to Cyrus. As it was not safe to trust it to any Mede, he wrote a letter and put it inside a hare and sewed it up again. This he sent as a present to Cyrus, with a message bidding him open it when he was alone. Cyrus did as he was told. He cut open the hare when there was no one by, and found the letter inside. This is what he read: "Son of Cambyzes, of a surety the gods watch over you, else you had never come thus far on the road to fortune. And now you must slay Astyages, your murderer, for had his will prevailed you had perished; but thanks to the gods and to me, you yet live!" Then he bade Cyrus remember all that Harpagus had suffered because he took pity on him and saved his life. "If now you will be persuaded by me, you shall rule over all lands where Astyages now rules. Win over the Persians to revolt and lead them against the Medes, and whether I be chosen or any other general to march against you, your desire shall assuredly be accomplished." Finally, he bade him do quickly what he meant to do.

Cyrus pondered the contents of this letter, and at last he resolved to make trial of the Persians. He called an assembly of the people, and when they were come together he drew out a letter, which, he said, came from the king, who had appointed him general of the Persians. Then he bade them come next morning to a certain place, each with a sickle, and ordered them to clear the ground of thistles before night. Next day he bade them assemble again all clad in their best. This time he set before them a great feast, and wine in plenty, and bade them lie down on the grass and take their ease. While they were yet feasting, Cyrus asked which they preferred, the way in which they had

spent the previous day or this one. All with one accord answered that they preferred the day on which they had taken their ease. Then Cyrus said: "Men of Persia, this is how matters stand. If you will be guided by me, these and many other good things shall fall to your lot, and you shall perform no slavish toil. But if you will not be guided by me, countless tasks like that of yesterday await you. Follow me, then, and you shall all be free." Then he bade them revolt from the Medes under his leadership, and they agreed joyfully.

The news of his preparations soon reached the ears of Astyages, and he sent to bid Cyrus come to him at once. Cyrus answered that he would certainly come, and sooner than the king cared to see him. Astyages now prepared to put down the revolt, and in his folly he gave the chief command to Harpagus, whose treachery he never suspected. The result was that some of the Medes deserted to the side of the Persians, while the rest pretended to resist them, and soon took to flight. Astyages now collected the remains of his army, and the boys and the old men who had been left behind, and himself marched against Cyrus. This last effort was unsuccessful. Astyages was defeated and taken prisoner, and the dream was fulfilled, for Cyrus became king in his place. He treated his grandfather kindly, and kept him with him till his death; but all his power had departed from him. Thus ended the Median empire, which had lasted 128 years. The Persians now got the upper hand, and the Medes became their subjects, and Cyrus ruled over the lands from the Indus to the Halys.

Croesus had watched these changes with a good deal of uneasiness. He had entered into a treaty of friendship with the Medes, but there was no reason to suppose that the Persians would observe it. Nothing was more likely than

**Croesus
resolves to
invade
Persia.**

that the daring youth who had driven Astyages from the throne would turn his arms against Lydia when next he wanted some occupation. War was bound to come sooner or later. The only question was, who should begin it. Croesus settled this point by consulting the oracle at Delphi, and it was then that he received what Herodotus calls the "counterfeit answer", that if he crossed the Halys he would destroy a great kingdom. Croesus resolved to invade Persia.

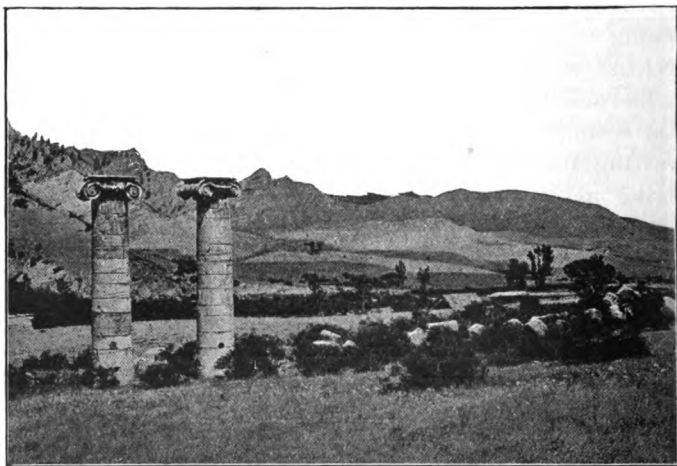
With a view to this war he had for some time been trying to get powerful allies, and had made treaties with Babylonia and Egypt, as well as several of the Greek States. But some god seemed to have smitten him with folly. Without waiting for his allies, he decided to strike first and strike at once. As soon as his army could be got together he led it across the Halys. Cyrus at once made ready to meet him, and the two armies met at Pteria in Cappadocia, for Croesus delayed to besiege and capture this city. Near by the great battle was fought. It lasted all day, and when night fell neither side had the victory. Finding his enemy so strong, Croesus resolved to venture no further from home, and withdrew with his troops to Sardis, hoping that his allies would join him before long, when he would make a fresh attempt.

He crosses
the Halys.

Of course Cyrus did not wait for this. As soon as he learned that Croesus had retired to Sardis he started in pursuit, and travelled so fast that he brought the news of his arrival himself. This sudden invasion threw Croesus into great alarm. Still he rallied his forces and drew them up in battle array in a great plain not far from the capital. The strength of the Lydians lay in their cavalry; no other people could manage their horses better or take surer aim with the javelin. Cyrus knew that the

He is de-
feated near
Sardis.

Persians would find it hard to withstand the shock of the Lydian horse, but he hit upon a plan for making them useless. The Persians were accustomed to use camels for carrying their baggage and provisions. Before the battle Cyrus gave orders that their loads should be removed and men put on their backs instead. Then he ordered this camel corps to be placed in the very front of the battle line so that they might sustain the first shock of the enemy. He knew that horses



RUINS OF SARDIS.

(From a photograph published by the Hellenic Society.)

are afraid of camels, and particularly dislike their smell, and he hoped this would make them shy and refuse to go forward. This was exactly what did happen; for as soon as the horses smelt the camels they began to press backward, though their riders did their best to spur them on. When the Lydians saw what was frightening the horses they jumped off and fought on foot. But it was too late; the ranks had already been thrown into confusion, and after a brave

resistance the Lydians were put to flight, and the Persians pursued them to the gates of the city. Croesus now sent frantic appeals to his allies to come to his assistance without delay. The Spartans actually prepared an expedition, but before it could even set out, a second messenger came to tell them that Sardis was taken and Croesus a prisoner. This was how it happened.

Sardis was a strong city with good fortifications, and there seemed every reason to think it would stand a long siege. Cyrus, who was anxious to take it before Croesus could get any fresh help, offered a reward to the man who should be first to scale the walls. One day a Persian soldier had his attention called to a place where no guard was stationed. The city was built below Mount Tmolus, and where it actually joined the mountain the rock was so steep that it seemed impossible for anyone to climb it. It happened, however, that one of the Lydians dropped his helmet and made his way down the rock to pick it up. The Persian who noticed this tried to climb up by the same path, and found it easier than he expected. Others followed, and the town was entered on this side and taken. Thus Sardis fell after a siege of fourteen days, and Croesus lost the kingdom which he had held for fourteen years. Croesus, who feared to fall alive into his conqueror's hands, had a great wooden pile erected, and on this took his place wreathed as for a sacrifice. When he had poured a libation to the god he bade his slaves kindle it that he might perish in the flames. Suddenly the sky was overcast and from a dark cloud rain poured down on the pyre, and the flames were put out. Men thought this was the doing of Apollo, who saved Croesus because he had done honour to his temple. He was taken prisoner and led before Cyrus, who thus questioned him: "Croesus,

Cyrus takes
Sardis, 546
B.C.

what mortal was it that persuaded you to invade my country and so become my enemy instead of my friend?" Croesus answered: "O King, that I acted thus was your gain and my loss. Croesus is taken prisoner.

But the fault lies with the god of the Hellenes, he it



CROESUS ON THE PYRE.

(From a vase painting in the Louvre, Paris.)

was who led me on to make war against you. For no man is so senseless as to choose war rather than peace, since in time of peace sons bury their fathers, but in war the fathers bury their sons. It was the will of the gods that these things should befall," Then Cyrus

bade him be of good cheer, for no harm should befall him. He respected the misfortunes of Croesus, and took him back with him to Ecbatana, where he kept him at the court till his death.

All Lydia was now in the power of Cyrus, and the Greek cities began to tremble lest they should lose the freedom they had enjoyed under Croesus. They had been invited by Cyrus to come over to his side before the invasion of Lydia began, but they had indignantly refused. Now, however, they offered to acknowledge him as sovereign on the same terms as Croesus had given them. Then Cyrus answered by a parable: "Once upon a time a piper saw some fishes in the sea, and piped to them thinking they would follow him to land. When they would not come he took a net in which he caught a number of fish, and when he saw them struggling he cried to them, 'Stop dancing now, since when I piped to you you would not come out and dance'". Cyrus meant by this tale that, as they had refused to surrender when he called on them, they must not look for any mercy now. With Miletus only he concluded a treaty, the other cities prepared for the attack which they knew they must expect. They set to work to strengthen their walls, and also sent to Sparta to see if she would be willing to help them as she had meant to help Croesus. When the messengers reached Sparta they chose one of their number as spokesman, and he put on a purple robe and made a long speech to the people. They listened patiently though they disliked long speeches, but they voted against giving any help. They only sent out one ship to Asia, with a message to Cyrus, telling him that the Spartans would not permit him to injure any Greek city. When the message had been delivered Cyrus asked the interpreter who the Spartans were, and how numerous was the people that sent such an insolent

Cyrus
attacks the
Greek cities,
546-545 B.C

command. When he had been told, he spoke thus: "I never yet feared such men as have a place set apart in the middle of their city where they assemble to swear and cheat one another. If my health lasts I will give them troubles of their own to talk about instead of those of the Ionians." Cyrus now set out for home, for he had other matters in his mind more important than the affairs of the Greeks. No less an undertaking than the capture of Babylon was being planned; meantime he left to others the conquest of the Greek cities. The greater part of this work fell to Harpagus, to whom Cyrus really owed his throne. He had to attack the towns separately one after another, and he did it by piling up high mounds outside, and in this way blockading them till they were driven by hunger to surrender. The first city he attacked was called Phocaea. (See map p. 142). The people who lived there were very adventurous sailors. Some men from here had explored far away westward to the further shores of the Adriatic and even to the country we now call Spain, and had also founded a city at the mouth of the Rhône, called Massilia, which is now Marseilles. Such daring spirits need not sit at home waiting for slavery. When Harpagus raised his earthworks against them, and, eager for the honour of taking Phocaea, promised to do the city no injury, if they would break down a single turret and dedicate one building to Persia, the citizens demanded a day to consider his proposal, and insisted that during that time his army should leave the walls. Harpagus granted their request, though he half guessed how they meant to use the time. The Phocaeans at once got ready their ships, put in their wives and children, their goods and the images of the gods, and set sail for the island of Chios. Then the Persians took possession of the deserted city. However, the Chians did not welcome their unbidden guests, and refused to

sell them some little islands in which they wanted to settle. Again they set sail, and their voyage took them past their old home. They fell upon the Persian garrison whom they found in possession and killed them all. Then they threw a great lump of iron into the sea, and swore never to return to Phocaea till the iron should rise to the surface. In spite of this oath a good many did turn back and settle in their old home again. The rest sailed westward to Corsica, where some of their townsmen had founded a colony twenty years before.

One after another the Ionian cities were taken and made subject to the Great King, some coming over freely, others fighting to the last. One wise man had proposed to the Council of the Ionians that they should all flee before the slavery to come, sail away to Sardinia and found a new Ionia there. Perhaps it was good advice, but somehow the Greeks never seemed able to take common action. United they might have found freedom in a new home; separate and each fighting for itself and forgetting its neighbours, the cities fell one after another into the hands of the Persians. This is how the Greeks in Asia became a part of the Persian Empire.

They fall into
his hands.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN ATHENS AND PERSIA.

Cyrus attacks Babylon, 538 B.C., THE Greek cities were now in the power of Cyrus, but they were not of much importance compared with his other conquests. His chief rival was still the King of Babylonia, and now he had an excellent excuse for attacking him, because of the alliance he had made with Croesus. Though none of his allies had been able to do anything for the ill-fated King of Lydia, still Cyrus was now at liberty to treat them as enemies. After defeating the Babylonians in a pitched battle he laid siege to the capital. A new and marvellous city had grown up in place of the old Babylon, by command of King Nebuchadnezzar, whose father had thrown off the yoke of Assyria. He it was who drove the Egyptians out of Syria, and took Jerusalem by storm, carrying the Jews into captivity, to hang their harps on the willows by the rivers of Babylon, and wait for the deliverer who should avenge them on their conquerors. That deliverer was Cyrus.

Of all the wonders of this city of palaces and temples and "hanging gardens," as they called its terraced parks, the most wonderful were the walls. They were 300 feet high and 75 broad, and formed a square of which each side was fifteen miles long. Within these walls lay the largest town the world has ever known, far larger even than our own monstrous London. Unlike London however it contained within it large tracts

of cultivated land, so that it could grow its own provisions, and no blockading army could hope to starve it out. But even an attack on Babylon was not too bold an undertaking for Cyrus. Through the middle of the town flowed the river Euphrates, and by its means Cyrus hoped to effect an entrance. At the places where it entered and left the city he stationed guards, and by means of reservoirs and canals he managed gradually



TOMB OF CYRUS THE GREAT.

to draw off the water from the river, until it was so shallow that a man could cross it without wetting the upper part of his body. Then he watched his opportunity. One day when all the Babylonians were celebrating a festival the soldiers were sent in from both sides and made their way **and takes it.** cautiously along the bed of the river. As so many persons had gone to the festival the streets were very empty, and no one noticed how the enemy was gradually stealing into the town, and when they did

find out they were not ready to fight. Of course the Persians inside could easily let in the others, and so Babylon was taken and Babylonia added to the Persian Empire.

Cambyzes, son of Cyrus, conquers Egypt, 525 B.C. The conquests of Cyrus only ended with his life, for he was fighting on the Indus, trying to extend his eastern boundary when death overtook him (529 B.C.). He was succeeded by his son Cambyzes, who added Egypt to the Persian dominions. These were growing so

large that they might have been in danger of going to pieces like Assyria, had not a new king, Darius, come to the throne who was as skilful in managing the kingdom as Cyrus had been in building it up. An old vase-painting has been found which shows the treasurer of Darius seated by an abacus or reckoning-board, calculating the tribute his many provinces had to pay him. This shows that he was a good man of business, and

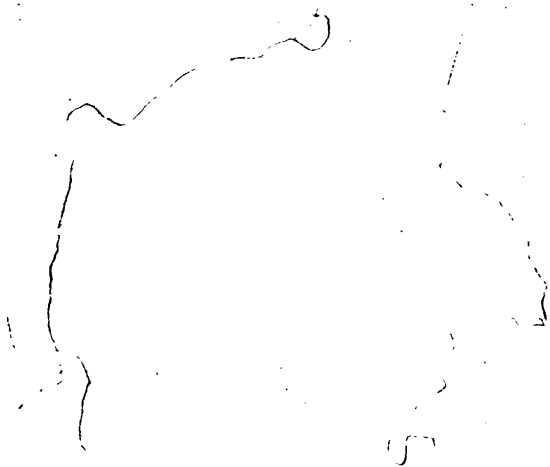
Darius ascends the throne of Persia, 521 B.C.

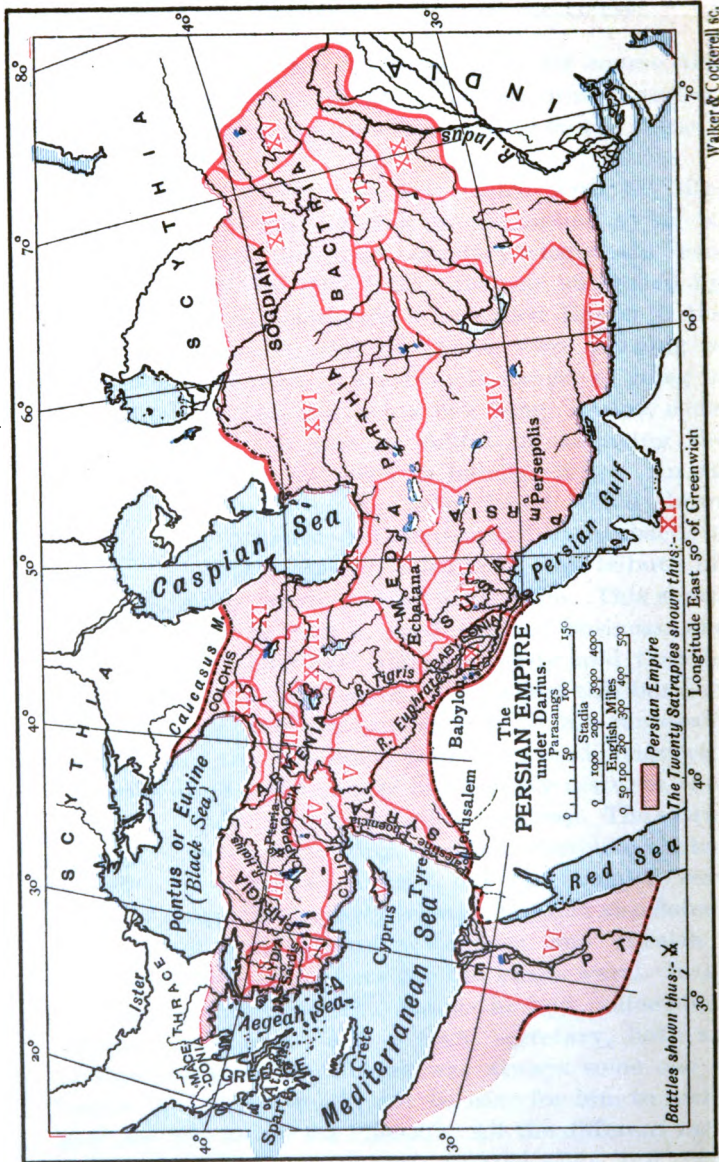
indeed the Persians half contemptuously said that he had the soul of a shopkeeper. It was just this business power that helped him to hand on to his successors the whole of the vast realm that Cyrus had conquered.

Darius divided the empire into twenty districts, each under a governor, called a satrap. The satrap was a little king, who had complete control over his own district, but was bound to send up a fixed yearly tribute; he must also defend

He divides the Persian Empire into satrapies

his satrapy against foreign enemies, and furnish a certain number of soldiers for the king's wars. In all else he was independent. But as he had under him a military commander and a royal secretary, both appointed by the Court, there was always some one to watch him, and it would not be easy for him to revolt and take the power for himself. All the different races over whom Darius ruled were treated alike, and owed





allegiance only to the Great King, who held his Court at Susa, which had now become the heart of the empire. New roads and canals were made to bring the capital into connexion with even the most distant provinces. A great royal road was laid down leading from Susa to Sardis. It was 1,500 miles long, and was counted a three months' journey for a man on foot. Along this road the king's messengers came and went. It was divided into stages, and at fixed places along the route messengers found fresh horses waiting for them, or other couriers who could carry on the orders while the first ones rested. It was arranged something like our own coaching roads in the old days before there were any trains, and it made a regular postal system for the king's private use.

It was indeed a large and varied empire that Darius had welded into one great whole. On the east lay the satrapy of India, which then meant no more than the upper valley of the Indus. This strange land, where gold was to be found in the sands of the desert, sent the king a yearly tribute which, if we may believe Herodotus, was as much as a million pounds of our money. All the other satrapies together sent about three millions, and of this the greater part came from Babylon and Egypt.

The Eastern boundary of this vast kingdom was the River Indus. On the North it stretched to the steppes of Scythia, and on the South, except where the sea bounded it, to the deserts of Arabia. In Africa, Egypt had become a satrapy. On the West alone no limit seemed fixed. Beyond the Aegean and the narrow straits that sundered Europe and Asia were lands concerning which rumours had reached the ears of Darius. He thought that he also must add something to the kingdom he had inherited, if he would show himself worthy of his

The
boundaries of
the Persian
Empire.

predecessors. Cyrus had won the empire from the Medes and added Babylon to it; Cambyses had conquered Egypt, but something yet remained to do. Darius resolved to draw a new line along the western boundary of his dominions. To the Asiatics of those days Europe was a land of mystery. None had yet penetrated to its western limits and looked on the waters of the Atlantic. As for our own little island, no one even dreamed of its existence. All the land now occupied by France and Germany was unexplored. Only the more easterly parts of Europe were known to the Persians; here were lands still left to conquer.

North of the Black Sea, in the southern part of what we now call Russia, lived the Scythians, a half-savage race, of whom travellers told the strangest tales. They did not live in walled towns like other people, but travelled about

**Darius goes
against the
Scythians,
512 B.C.**

constantly in waggons, carrying their homes along with them. They were capital riders and archers and, like the Mexican cowboys of to-day, they could send an unerring shaft at the enemy without slackening speed. "House-carriers" and "horse-bowmen" Herodotus calls them, a people who travelled with little baggage because they had few needs, who sowed no corn and planted no trees, because they scorned the fruits of the earth and lived only on the cattle which they drove along with them. How was it possible to conquer people who had no towns to besiege, no farms to destroy, no fixed place where they must make a stand and fight? Darius trusted in the luck that had hitherto followed Persian conquests. He would find and conquer the Scythians in Europe, and draw a fresh boundary of his empire to the north and west.

The land and sea forces required for this expedition had to assemble at the Bosphorus by a certain day. There were 700,000 horse and foot and 600 ships.

Darius had two pillars erected on the European side, on which were inscribed in Persian and Greek the names of the different nations that made up his army. The ships were sent forward with orders to sail across the Black Sea to the mouth of the Danube, and two days' voyage up the river, and at the point they would then have reached form a bridge of boats across it. Meantime the army would march through Thrace, and call on its princes to submit. In due time Darius reached the Danube, and crossed it by means of the bridge of boats. Beyond the river he entered a country of which he knew absolutely nothing, for no Persian had ever explored these distant regions. Darius had some notion that he could make his way round to the north of the Black Sea, and so back into Persia without recrossing the Danube. He therefore gave orders to the Ionians who had constructed the bridge to guard it for sixty days, and if he had not returned by that time they were to break it up and sail away. He gave them a cord in which there were sixty knots; they were to untie one every day, and when the last was gone, if the king had not yet returned they might suppose he had gone home another way. After taking these precautions Darius set out on his northerly march. Now began a most amazing series of adventures, if we may believe the tale of Herodotus. The Scythians withdrew to the north with their families and waggons, and Darius and his army pursued them. Wherever the Scythians went the Persians followed, but never during the weeks and months the expedition lasted could they prevail on that strange enemy to turn round and face them in battle. Thus the Scythians drew the Persians away from the Danube, right across Scythia and Sarmatia, and far away to the east; and as they went they destroyed the wells and the grass so that they might

cut off the food and drink of their pursuers. Then they drew the Persians away to the north-west, and last of all southward again and back to the Danube. The Scythians, who reached the river first, found the bridge still standing, though it was long past the sixty days, and they called upon the Ionians who were guarding it to break it up and leave Darius to his fate. In this way they would secure their own freedom and help the Scythians to their revenge. This plan was approved by some of the Greeks, especially Miltiades, governor of one of the districts in Thrace that had lately come into the power of Persia. But he found himself in a minority. The Greek cities, like all parts of the Persian Empire, were allowed to keep their own mode of government so long as they sent up their tribute punctually, and supplied soldiers when required. Many of them were in the hands of tyrants who were rich and powerful men and cared little for the needs of the poorer citizens. Darius encouraged the tyrants because they kept the people in a state of slavery, which suited Eastern ideas, and it was their interest therefore to keep Ionia from throwing off the Persian yoke. Histiaeus, governor of Miletus, urged the others to secure their own position by doing Darius a good turn. In order to satisfy the Scythians they moved a few of the boats, but kept the greater part of the bridge in place. In the course of the night Darius arrived, and was alarmed when he could not find the bridge. He ordered a Scythian herald with a very powerful voice to call across the water for Histiaeus. To his great joy an answer came, and soon the gap in the bridge was filled in, and the army crossed over. When he was safely back in Persia the king remembered the service rendered him by the tyrant of Miletus. He thanked him graciously, loaded him with presents, and made him come to the Court at Susa.

Histiaeus would have been glad if Darius had shown his gratitude in some different way, for he wanted to return home; but the king, who did not feel quite sure of his loyalty, kept him at Susa under pretence of affection.

Meantime Aristagoras, a kinsman of Histiaeus, was left in command at Miletus. Anxious to curry favour with the king, he volunteered to put down a rebellion that had broken out on the island of Naxos. But he had promised more than he could perform. His attempt ended in failure, and as he had thereby incurred the king's anger, his safest plan seemed to induce Miletus to revolt also. Histiaeus secretly encouraged him, for he hoped that he would be sent to restore order and so at last get back home. Miletus was ready enough to revolt, and nearly all the other Ionian cities followed the example. In their present need they turned for help to the old country. Aristagoras undertook to be their ambassador. First he went to Sparta, but there the people refused him a hearing, and said he must be mad to suggest that the Spartans should make war on a king who lived at Susa, three months' journey from the sea. He had a better reception at Athens. Her naval power was growing fast, and the freedom she herself enjoyed gave her a feeling of sympathy for any other people who wanted to get rid of tyranny. They voted to send a fleet of twenty ships, and to these Eretria added five.

These ships at once set sail for Ephesus, where they found a number of troops ready to join them. Without delay they set out for Sardis, and by forced marches reached the city before the satrap had time to organise the defence. He took refuge in the citadel, while the Athenians entered the town and began to plunder it. During the sack a soldier set fire to a house, and the

Revolt of
Miletus, 499
B.C.

Athens and
Eretria send
ships to Asia
and burn
Sardis, 497
B.C.

flames were carried by the wind and spread to the outskirts of the town. The inhabitants were driven by the fire to take refuge in the market-place, where they found the remains of the Persian garrison. Joining these they made a last stand, and before the invaders could complete the sack of the city, they were in their turn attacked, driven out of Sardis, and forced to fly towards Ephesus. Before they could reach it, they were overtaken and defeated in a pitched battle.

When the news of the burning of Sardis was brought to Darius, and he was told that it had been done with the help of Athenians, he inquired who these Athenians might be. Then he called for his bow, placed an arrow on the string, shot it into the air and prayed, saying, "Grant that I may take revenge on the Athenians!" He also ordered one of his slaves to say to him three times every day at dinner: "Lord, remember the Athenians!" And Darius did remember.

The Ionians had gained little by the burning of Sardis, since they had made the Lydians as well as the Persians their enemies, and the punishment for their daring could not be far off. In fact three generals were now sent to put down the rebellion. One after another the smaller cities were besieged and taken; at last all the armies closed on Miletus, where the whole trouble had begun. Land defence was impossible; the only hope was to keep off the Persians by sea. All the ships the Ionians could muster, to the number of 353, were collected at Lade, a small island outside the harbour of Miletus. The Persians had 600 ships manned by Phoenician sailors for the Medes and Persians were of no use at sea. For some days the two fleets lay opposite one another. One of the Greek tyrants persuaded the allies to use this interval for drill and exercise. Every morning he

**Darius vows
vengeance on
Athens.**

**Battle of
Lade, 494
B.C.**

made the ships draw out in line, and put the sailors through exercises. Of course it was important to keep them in training, and also give them practice in acting together; but the Ionians, who were a lazy race except in great emergencies, objected strongly to so much exertion, and began to grumble. "Are we out of our minds," they said, "to put up with such intolerable treatment? Better face the slavery that must come than labour such as this!" So they practised no more, but passed their time in rest and idleness. The Persians spent the interval to better purpose. They sent the expelled tyrants to parley with their townsmen, and urge them to come over to Persia. If they would do this even at the last moment, they should have a free pardon for the past and good treatment in the future; but if they persisted in their disobedience, the most terrible punishment should overtake them. These words sank into their minds, but till the day of the battle no one knew what harm had been done. At last the two fleets were drawn up in fighting line, and then a shameful sight was seen. Of the sixty ships sent by the rich island of Samos forty-nine sailed away without striking a blow. The Lesbians followed, and after them went many others, who thought there was no hope of victory left. Those that did remain fought bravely, and sank a number of the enemy's ships, but they had to give way at last.

Miletus was left quite unprotected, but still refused to surrender. The Persians were now able to blockade it by sea as well as by land; and at last, after a brave defence, it was taken by storm. The town was burned in revenge for Sardis; all citizens old enough to bear arms were put to death, the rest were carried away to another part of the kingdom. The city lands were forfeited to the king, the citadel became a Persian fortress. The harbour,

Miletus is captured, 494 B.C.

once gay with shipping, was deserted and gradually choked with mud from the river; all around were tokens of ruin and decay. The place of Miletus knew it no more, and with Miletus vanished the liberty of Ionia.

The war was now at an end, but the wrath of Darius was not yet satiated. The cities that had deserted to Persia were pardoned, the others were wasted with fire and sword. Even this was not enough. The Athenians had insulted Darius and invaded his country. They must be wiped off the face of the earth, and their lands made a satrapy of Persia. Then and not till then might the Great King rest content.

Darius had before this taken the first steps towards the conquest of Greece. Though he had been unsuccessful in his invasion of Scythia, he had received the submission of some of the Thracian tribes on his march through their land, and when he left Europe Megabazus, an able Persian general, remained behind to complete the conquest of Thrace. Macedonia too submitted, and now Persian dominion had extended into Europe, where the Danube would remain the northern boundary, for no Persian would be likely to go on another wild chase after the Scythians.

Thrace was now to serve as a stepping-stone to Greece. A great expedition was fitted out and placed under the command of a general named Mardonius. The land forces were to march through Thrace, and the fleet to keep near the coast ready to land men in case of need.

But this fleet was not destined to see the shores of Greece. Off the promontory of Mount Athos a terrible storm overtook it, two hundred ships were destroyed and the bay was strewn with Persian corpses. Truly the Greeks might say that

Darius determines to conquer Greece.

Mardonius conducts the first expedition, 492 B.C.

The fleet is destroyed by a storm.

the gods had fought for them. "He blew with his winds and they were scattered" would as fitly describe



SCENES FROM THE DARIUS VASE.
(In the Naples Museum.)

the end of this fleet as the destruction of the Spanish Armada.

For the present Greece was saved. Mardonius, who had suggested and managed the whole expedition, fell

into disgrace. However Athens might be reached, it was clearly not this way. It happened that there was one man then living in Persia who was specially suited to guide and direct a Greek expedition, since the road to Athens was his way back from exile. This was Hippias, the banished tyrant. When the allies refused to join the Spartans in any more endeavours to force him upon the Athenians, he had left Sparta and taken refuge with Artaphernes at Sardis. This satrap was quite ready to take the side of a banished tyrant, and at once despatched messengers to Athens with orders to receive Hippias back. Of course they took no notice of this insolent message, and their refusal had aroused the anger of the king. Now the Persians had also to avenge the burning of Sardis, and the presence of Hippias helped to kindle their enthusiasm. Darius resolved to send an army straight across the sea to Athens. The result could not be in doubt.

Hippias comes to Sardis. Before making a regular attack on Greece, Darius had sent heralds, as was the Persian custom, to demand earth and water in token of submission. Such was the terror inspired by the very name of the Great King that many states gave it at once, among them Thebes and Aegina, the chief rivals of Athens. Very different was the reception the heralds met with at Sparta and Athens. The Athenians threw the messenger into the pit where they cast public criminals, while at Sparta the herald was thrown down a well and bidden, if he wanted earth and water, take it thence. It was indeed a perilous mission to carry such a demand to two proud cities, one the leading state of Greece with a people of soldiers, the other a growing naval power, just becoming conscious of its strength. Neither Sparta nor Athens would submit without a fierce struggle. The ill-treat-

Darius sends heralds to Greece.

ment of his heralds still further inflamed the anger of Darius, and he resolved on war.

For the last two years preparations had been going on, and special transports had been built for carrying the cavalry across. Troops were levied through the whole extent of Persia. At last when all preparations were complete, the forces assembled on the Cilician coast, and were put under the command of Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, the king's nephew and son of the satrap of Lydia. These had received their orders direct from the king at Susa. They were to subdue those Greek states which had refused earth and water, above all Athens and Eretria, to bring the inhabitants in chains to Persia, and to restore Hippias to the throne from which he had been driven twenty years before.

Preparations
for the
second
expedition.

When at last all the troops were embarked this great armada set sail, and following the advice of Hippias, struck right across the Aegean and by way of Samos to Euboea. They stopped on the way to take the island of Naxos, and then halted at Delos, which they treated with due respect as a sanctuary of Apollo. Their object in going to Euboea was to punish the Eretrians for their share in the burning of Sardis. They called on the city to surrender, and when it refused they laid siege to it. On six successive days they attacked the walls, but in vain; then a few traitors opened the gates to them. Eretria was burnt to the ground, and the people carried away into slavery. Datis and Artaphernes might boast that they were obediently fulfilling their lord's commands.

The fleet sails
to Greece,
490 B.C.,

and takes
Eretria.

The fall of Eretria seemed an ill omen for Athens. Could she alone hold out against an enemy from abroad and treachery at home? The Persians were preparing to cross over from Euboea to Attica, to that very plain

of Marathon where, nearly fifty years ago, Hippias had landed with his father Peisistratus at his last triumphal restoration to the tyranny. There had been little more than a show of resistance then. How would it be now? What changes had taken place at Athens since those days of splendid tyranny?

First of all the three parties in the state had come to an end. There were no longer men of the Plain and Shore and Mountain. All were in the first place Athenians, in the second members of their tribes and demes. They worked now side by side, not to serve any noble house, but for the greatness of Attica; for since Cleisthenes had given every man some share in the government, all had a personal interest in the welfare of the state. This proved a great safeguard when they found themselves face to face with a foreign enemy. "In this whole course of events," says Herodotus, "we may find proof how excellent a thing is equality. For even the Athenians, while governed by tyrants, were not superior to their neighbours in war, but when they were rid of the tyrants they became far the best soldiers. This shows clearly that they grew feeble when they were kept down, working only for their lords, but when they gained their freedom they were inspired to zeal, since each was striving for his own good."

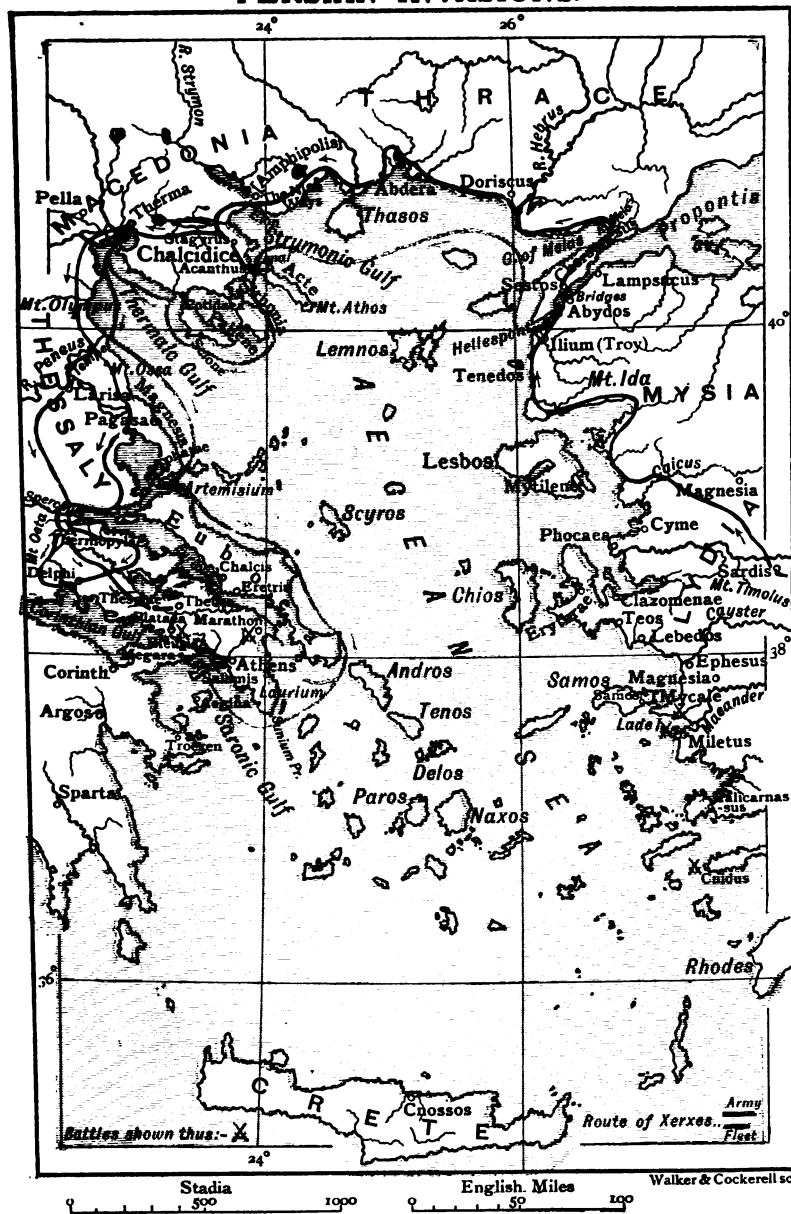
It was possible now at Athens for any citizen, whether of noble or humble birth, to come to the front if he had the ability, and help his country in time of need. In the darkest hour of Greece, when the conquering Persian was almost at the gates of the city, Athens did not lack men calm enough to keep her from despair, and brave and wise enough to lead her to victory. Chief among these was Miltiades. It was nearly seventy years since his uncle

State of
affairs at
Athens.

The benefits
of freedom.

Miltiades.

PERSIAN INVASIONS.



"Perfect Day" R. F. & A. L.

of the same name had left Athens at the invitation of a Thracian tribe to become their chief, and help them subdue their troublesome neighbours. Miltiades the younger had succeeded to his power, and the extension of Persian dominion over part of Thrace had made him against his will one of the Great King's subjects. It was he who had urged the Ionians to break down the bridge over the Danube and leave the Persians to their fate. This advice had won for him the enmity of Darius. After the revolt of Ionia, it was scarcely safe for him to stay in Thrace, and he returned to Athens, his old home.

So it came about that, after all, Miltiades was to strike a blow at the power of Darius. He was chosen one of the ten generals at the election which was held just before the terrible news of the fall of Eretria reached Athens, for each tribe now chose its own generals. This was the moment of her direst need. It seemed impossible to face the Persian hosts alone. Sparta, like Athens, had met the king's demands with an insolent refusal, and the two had joined in an expedition against Aegina to punish her for "medizing," which means taking the side of the Medes. Sparta was still the foremost state in Greece, and ought to take the lead in time of emergency. To her therefore Athens turned for aid. The distance between the two towns was 150 miles, a long one for messengers who had to travel on foot. But it was not for nothing that the Greeks offered prizes for running at the Games. Their swiftest courier, Pheidippides, covered the distance in forty-eight hours, and came breathless to Sparta with his tale. "Men of Lacedaemon," he panted, "the Athenians beseech you to come to their aid, and not stand by and see the most ancient city of the Hellenes enslaved at the hands of barbarian men. Already Eretria is taken, and Hellas

Athens asks
Sparta for
help.

is the poorer by one illustrious city." When they heard of the danger of Athens, the Spartans resolved to send an army to her assistance, but they would not set out for five days. It was now the ninth day of the moon, and at full moon there was a festival of Apollo, which must be celebrated with all due rites. When that was over Athens might count on their aid.

While the Spartans were waiting for the full moon, the Persians had, by the advice of Hippias, disembarked on the plain of Marathon. This plain, except where on the east it slopes down to the sea, is everywhere surrounded by a tangle of hills. Among these hills near the junction of two roads, one a mountain path by which the troops had come, the other the main road to Athens, was the spot chosen for the Athenian camp. Here they were joined by a thousand Plataeans, who out of gratitude for the protection of Athens against Thebes had come to give their help.

The Persians, who were encamped in the plain not far from their ships, were anxious to hasten on the battle, for if once they had routed the enemy the road to Athens would lie open. The Athenians preferred to postpone the battle, for their position was so good that they did not care to leave it till they saw a chance of taking the enemy unawares. Besides the Spartans might yet arrive in time, if only they could wait a little longer. So they watched and waited. At last word was brought by scouts that the Persians were making a move. They were getting ready their ships and embarking the horses. It looked as though they meant after all to sail round Sunium and so to Athens. This was the moment for which the Athenian generals had waited. The signal for attack was given.

The Athenian force was drawn up on high ground near the sacred grove of Heracles, with a sort of palisade

of tree trunks to protect it from cavalry attacks. The Persians were below in the plain. There were 10,000 Greeks, the Persians must have been about ten times that number. The difficulty was to arrange the Greek line of battle so that it should be wide enough to prevent the enemy from shutting it right in. This could only be done by making the centre very shallow, not more in some places than three men deep. The chief strength was reserved for the wings.

The Athenians attack them.

As usual the Greeks offered a sacrifice before the battle. As soon as the omens were favourable for attack, the order to advance was given. The two armies were about a mile apart. As the Athenians drew near the enemy and met the full force of their arrows, the pace increased, and at last they came up running at full speed and shouting the Greek war-cry. The effect was startling. The Persians held out for a while, then broke and gave way on both wings. Of course, the Greek centre which had been purposely thinned, was itself put to flight, and here the Persians were the pursuers, so that their army was broken into three pieces. The Greek wings now stopped the pursuit, turned back and joined in an attack on the Persian centre, and they routed this as they had done the wings. The Persians fled to their ships and the Greeks pursued. Down on the shore the battle began afresh. The Greeks tried to set fire to the ships, the Persians defended them bravely and successfully. In this attempt many of the noblest Athenians were killed, among them Callimachus the Polemarch. Only seven ships were destroyed. All the rest escaped, but they had to leave behind a number of tents with plenty of rich plunder for the Athenian soldiers.

Battle of Marathon, September, 490 B.C.

But these had other work in hand. Even after this

victory the troops could not be allowed a respite. The enemy were making full sail for Athens; they must find her defenders ready. Even Athens was not quite free from traitors, who might propose surrender before the troops returned. Patriots must be ready to march as well as fight. Forward then to Athens! It was the evening of the battle day, and the light of the September moon illumined the rock and the harbour when the Persian fleet sailed into the Bay of Phalerum. Close by, in the grove of Heracles, they found the very men who had left the hero's sanctuary at Marathon that morning. There were no traitors to open the gates, only the Athenian infantry, with their arms shining in the moonlight, a little worn and soiled from the day's labour and the march, but ready still to strike a blow for freedom. It was not needed. The Persians had had enough; their generals realised that they had failed. The fleet put about and sailed back to Asia.

The battle of Marathon was fought in the year 490 B.C., and remained the most glorious event in the annals of Athens. Except for the thousand Plataeans, the honour of victory belonged to her alone, and in particular to Miltiades, whose wise counsel and bold plans had really turned the tide of fortune. The day after the battle the Spartan forces arrived; they listened to the tale of wonder, marched out to Marathon to see the booty and the corpses, and gave unstinted praise to the Athenians. Then they marched home again, a little ashamed, let us hope, that they had missed their share in this great action.

When it was quite certain that the Persians were really gone, nothing remained but to reward the generals and pay fitting honour to the dead. Nearly two hundred Athenians had fallen in the battle. They

were buried on the field, and their names were inscribed according to tribes on ten pillars set up close by. Separate mounds were erected over the bodies of the Plataeans and the slaves, whom death for a righteous cause had enfranchised. The gods who had helped Athens were not forgotten. The Athenians dedicated a little marble treasure house to Apollo at Delphi, beautifully adorned with sculptures representing the deeds of Heracles and Theseus and the battle of the gods and giants.

Gradually all sorts of legends grew up round the battle. Pheidippides had been stopped on his way to Sparta by the god Pan, who blamed the Athenians for neglecting his worship, and promised to help them now if they would erect a temple in his honour. He it was who in the battle put into the hearts of the Persians that terror known henceforth as Panic which caused them to turn and fly. During the battle an unknown warrior, armed only with a ploughshare, was seen dealing destruction in the Persian ranks. It was even whispered that the greatest of all Athenians, Theseus himself, had returned from the realm of the dead to lead his countrymen to victory. In after times strange noises were heard on the battlefield, the neighing of horses, the clash of arms and the groans of the wounded. The ghosts of Persian and Greek had returned to earth, to fight again in unending succession the battle which had stayed the onset of the Eastern conqueror, and crowned the Athenian arms with glory.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GREAT PERSIAN INVASION.

Death of Darius, 485 B.C. WHEN the news of the battle reached Darius his surprise and indignation knew no bounds. Though Eretria had been punished and the citizens carried in chains to Persia, the real object of the King's vengeance was Athens. The burning of Sardis was a grievous insult, but how much worse the humiliation and defeat of the Persian hosts by a little Greek city ! We may be sure no slave was needed now to remind Darius of the Athenians. A second expedition was at once resolved on ; but Darius did not live to carry out his plans.

Xerxes succeeds him and plans a fresh expedition to Greece. His son Xerxes, who succeeded to the throne, took over his father's heritage of vengeance. He cared even more about punishing the Greeks than taking their land, which was but an insignificant bit of earth compared with his own great empire. But Xerxes came of a line of kings who were not accustomed to be thwarted.

Cyrus, though reared in a cowherd's hut, had won his way to the throne of Media and carried his conquests to east and west ; Cambyses was the conqueror of Egypt ; Darius had carried Persian rule across to Europe. Everywhere victory had met the Persian arms. Only a few Greek states had ventured to oppose them ; of these Xerxes would make an example and show the whole world that when the Great King commanded, he meant to be obeyed. An enormous army

should be got together, and he would conquer not only Greece, but the whole of Europe. He had heard that it was a fine country, with a good climate and plenty of trees and corn fields, too good to belong to any mortal except the Great King himself. Xerxes meant to lead this expedition in person. He would cross the Hellespont, march to Greece, punish the Athenians and subdue the whole of Europe, so that there might be no neighbours left to give the Persian empire further trouble. Henceforth the sun should rise and set on Persian lands alone.

Proclamations were now issued through all the subject lands, bidding them prepare for this great expedition. Everything was to be ready by a certain date, and a reward was offered to the satrap who should provide the best equipped troops. Army and navy alike were to be engaged and, that the forces might not be too far apart, the army was to cross the Hellespont by a bridge of boats and then march south-westward by Thrace and Macedonia to Greece. The ships would meantime sail through a canal cut across the isthmus of Mount Athos, to avoid the risk of storms like the one that had destroyed a former fleet. Thus the water was to be bridged, and the land pierced to make a path for the lord of Asia.

Preparations
for the
expedition
to Greece.

Sardis, the old capital of Lydia, was chosen as the meeting-place of the troops, who mustered from the most distant lands. There might be seen swarthy Indians, dressed in cotton coats and armed with arrows of reeds, Ethiopians with their bodies painted white and red, clad in lion and leopard skins and armed with stone-pointed arrows; Assyrians from Nineveh and Babylon in brazen helmets and linen cuirasses, armed with clubs, lances and short swords, mingling with dwellers on the Caspian who wore no covering but a

goat-skin. From north, south, east and west they were come, in various garbs and armed with every weapon, from the rainless valley of the Nile and the cold plains of the north, from every shore and every clime, the men of forty-six nations, to help their mighty lord destroy one Greek city.

It had taken four years to get this great army ready, and almost as long to dig the canal across the promontory of Mount Athos. Meantime Egyptian and Phoenician engineers had been at work constructing two bridges across the

Hellespont at the narrowest point of the strait. They had just completed their task and sent word to Xerxes that everything was ready for his crossing, when a

great storm dashed the whole structure to pieces. The rage of Xerxes now knew no bounds. He ordered the unlucky engineers to be beheaded and sent men to lash the water

two hundred times, saying, as they did so: "Thou bitter water, our master lays this penalty upon thee, because thou hast wronged him who never did thee wrong. King Xerxes will cross thee, whether thou wilt or no." Fresh engineers were now set to rebuild the bridge, which was made much stronger than before. First two rows of ships were arranged in a line across the strait and made fast by anchors at prow and stern. Over each of these lines six long cables were stretched, two of flax and four of papyrus. Across these cables planks were laid, which were kept in place by a second layer of cables. On this foundation they now constructed a regular road made of wood and earth, with high palisades at each side, to prevent the animals from being frightened by the sight of the water as they crossed over.

Xerxes had come in person to Sardis in the autumn of 481, and had sent heralds from there to all the

cities of Greece, except Athens and Sparta, with a demand for earth and water. He had also sent word to all the coast towns in Thrace and Macedonia bidding them prepare dinner for himself and his army on their passage through these countries. It would take months to collect what so vast a host would consume in a single meal.

Muster of the troops at Sardis, 481 B.C.

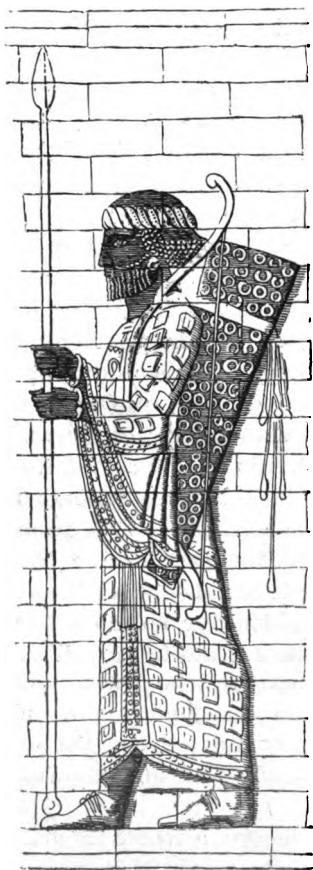
In the spring, when the works were completed and all the preparations made, Xerxes set out with his wonderful army. Never was such a splendid procession seen before or since. First came the baggage carried by mules, then followed half the infantry of every nation. After an interval followed the select troops, all Persians, a thousand horsemen and a thousand spearmen, with weapons reversed and golden pomegranates gleaming at the butt. Behind them stepped ten Median horses with splendid trappings, and then came the sacred chariot of Ormuzd, drawn by eight snowy steeds—empty, for no mortal, not even the Great King, might ride in the car of the god. Next followed the chariot of Xerxes, attended by a guard of horsemen and spearmen, chosen from among the noblest Persians. After these came the Immortals, so called because their number was always kept up to 10,000, and there might never be more nor less. Of these, 9,000 carried spears ending in silver pomegranates, while the thousand who held the post of honour in the front and rear had apples of gold. Another thousand horse completed the list of the noblest troops. All the rest of the army followed after another interval.

480 B.C.

The army marched in this order for a whole month, and by that time had come to Abydos on the Hellespont. Here the fleet was to meet them. On a neighbouring hill a marble throne had been erected for Xerxes, where

he could sit and watch his army cross from Asia to Europe. When all was ready for the passage, incense was burnt on the bridge and the path strewn with myrtle boughs. As the first rays of the rising sun touched the waters, the

The troops cross from Abydos to Sestos.



PERSIAN IMMORTAL.

king poured a libation into the sea from a golden goblet, and prayed thus to the sun-god: "Grant that no mishap may befall to stay my conquest of Europe, till I shall have reached even its furthest limit." When he had thus spoken, he cast the golden goblet and a Persian scimitar into the sea as gifts to the power of the waters.

The crossing of the strait now began. All the cavalry and infantry went over by one bridge, and the servants, cattle and baggage by the other. The Immortals were the first to pass over; then followed the rest of the troops in their appointed order. Seven days and seven nights, it is said, the crossing lasted, and a native of those parts who watched the unending procession at last exclaimed: "O Zeus, why hast thou in the likeness of a Persian and under the name of Xerxes, brought all the

nations of the earth to subdue the land of Greece?

Surely thou couldst have done it without the aid of these ! ”

The fleet and army had now to separate, but were to meet at Doriscus in Thrace. Here it was **Xerxes** that it occurred to Xerxes to number his **numbers** great army. This is how it was done. **his troops.** Ten thousand men were collected in a close mass, and a line drawn round them. Into this space the soldiers were all sent in turn, and they filled it 170 times. This showed that there were 1,700,000 foot soldiers. There were also 80,000 horse, and about 20,000 men with the chariots and camels, besides servants and camp-followers and the crews of the 1,107 large war-ships and 3,000 smaller vessels and transports. Altogether it was the largest army ever raised by one country to make war against another. When Xerxes had inspected both the land forces and the fleet, they set out once more on their southward march. All the towns where they halted had been busy for months getting together provisions for these unbidden guests ; and rivers that had to quench the thirst of this multitude were left with empty channels. Thus the army passed on its desolating track like a swarm of locusts, leaving ruin and famine behind—a track which the Thracians held it impious to cultivate, but left unploughed and unsown as though sacred to Xerxes and his mighty host. At last this long march came to an end at Therma in Thrace, whence they could **He halts at** see across the water Mount Olympus, the **Therma in** home of the gods of Hellas and the boundary **Thrace.** of unconquered Greece. Here they must halt to learn whether the Greeks meant to fight or yield.

When the arrival of Xerxes at Sardis had been made known in Greece, it was clear that the peril of invasion was at hand. In this emergency the only hope of safety lay in union. Sparta and Athens at

any rate must stand together, for both had most grievously insulted the king by the way in which they had treated his heralds. A Congress was at once summoned at the Isthmus of Corinth to discuss the means of defending Greece. All the chief states sent envoys except Argos and Thebes, for Argos was jealous of Sparta and wished to see her humbled, and Thebes had hated Athens ever since she had taken Plataea under her protection. Both preferred to stand aside, and see how things went before taking a decided part.

The Congress passed three important resolutions. The first was to forget all private differences, and make up their quarrels, at any rate for the duration of the war. Athens and Aegina

led the way by agreeing to put an end to their old feud. The second resolution was to send spies to Asia, to find out all about the plans and preparations of the enemy. Accordingly three men were sent to Sardis to discover what they could, but they fell into the hands of the Persians, who tortured them and would have put them to death had not Xerxes forbidden it. Instead he gave orders that they should be shown the whole camp and fleet and all the other preparations made for the invasion of their country. Then they might return home and tell the Greeks how vain was the hope of resisting so great an armament. The third resolution was to send to some of the larger colonies, such as Syracuse, Crete, and Corcyra, and bid them help the old country. But they either refused, or sent help too late, for they were too much afraid of the Great King to provoke his anger on behalf of their friends.

Sparta, as the leading state in Greece, was to have command of the armies. Before they returned to their homes all the envoys took a solemn oath that, should fortune send them the

victory, they would make war on all Hellenes who had submitted of their own free will to Persia, and dedicate a tithe of their wealth to Apollo in his sanctuary at Delphi.

While the Congress was yet sitting, messengers had arrived from Thessaly to ask for help in the defence of their country. The road from Macedonia to Thessaly passed over a narrow pass between Mounts Olympus and Ossa, where the River Peneus flowed on its sea-

The Thessalians ask for troops to defend Tempe.

ward path. If once the Persians got possession of this pass, they could overrun the whole plain of Thessaly, and with their vast numbers trample the defenders under foot. The Thessalians sent to ask the Congress for an army to help them hold this pass. "We are ready," said they, "to join in the defence, but you must send a considerable force. If you are not willing to do this, then understand that we shall submit to the Persians." All who heard this thought the demand was just, and they resolved to send troops by sea. They sailed through the Euripus, and marched northward into Thessaly. Here they took up their position in the Vale of Tempe, which is so narrow that a handful of men could hold it against a multitude. Unfortunately they had forgotten two things: the Persians could get there by sea just as easily as the Greeks, and there was another path


quite passable in summer, though rough and difficult, over the mountain passes of

The Greeks are unable to hold it.

Olympus. There was a risk therefore of being taken in the rear by the enemy and having their retreat cut off. Without even an attempt at defending the second pass, the army withdrew, this time to take its stand further south on more advantageous ground. The unfortunate Thessalians had no choice left but submission to Persia.

The Greeks had now to find a new line of defence. This time they looked for a place which could be held both by sea and land. They found it at Thermopylae. Thessaly, through which the Persians were now marching unhindered, was a low flat river valley, surrounded on all sides by mountains. The southern exit led between mountains and a swamp which stretched to the sea. At two places the swamp and the mountain were so near together that there was not room for two chariots to pass one another. These places were known as the Gates or, because there were hot springs here, the Hot Gates, which in Greek is Thermopylae. At other points the pass was wider, but the Phocians had built a wall across it in the hope of keeping out their Thessalian neighbours. The sea here was only a narrow gulf, approached by still narrower straits between the north of Euboea and the mainland. Here were a narrow land-pass and a narrow sea-pass, which might be defended by a small army and a small fleet. The fleet went to Artemisium on the north-east of Euboea to keep the enemy from entering the strait; the army was posted in the narrowest part of the pass of Thermopylae.

Though the whole of the Persian force was marching southward, it was a very small army that Leonidas the Spartan king led against them. The Peloponnesians thought they could make a better stand at the Isthmus, but that meant giving up all that lay to the north of it, and of course the Athenians would not agree to this. While the greater part of the army and nearly all the Spartan forces were kept behind to defend the peninsula, a small army was sent forward under Leonidas to keep the pass of Thermopylae. Of the 7,000 men under him only 300 were Spartan citizens, though they had a large number of helots with them. But these few were picked men,

the king's own body guard, in which no one might serve who had not left a son at home to keep the family from extinction. The men who marched to Thermopylae did not expect to return. They went there because duty called them to lay down their lives for their country. The rest of the army was made up of Arcadians and other Peloponnesians, and some troops from central Greece. 

When Xerxes heard that the Greeks had taken their stand at Thermopylae, he sent out a spy who rode up to the wall behind which they were sheltered. At that time the advanced post was held by the Spartans. They had planted their shields on the ground behind the rampart and were amusing themselves with games and gymnastics, while some were combing and dressing their long hair as they always did before a battle. When the scene was described to Xerxes, he laughed and would hardly believe that men who could act like this in the face of the enemy were foes worth dreading. He waited four days thinking they would surely withdraw as they had done from Tempe; at last when he saw no sign of a retreat, he sent forward some troops with orders to bring the Greeks into his presence alive. Great was his surprise when he found that the Greek spearmen could hold their own against the Persian archers. The pass was so narrow that there was hardly space for shooting, and the troops were soon engaged hand to hand. The Greeks were the better soldiers and had the more convenient weapons, but the overwhelming force of numbers was against them. For two days the fighting continued without either side giving way; even the Immortals, who had been sent forward as a last resort, were forced to retire in confusion. Three times Xerxes sprang from the throne where he was watching the battle, in terror for his noblest troops. Night fell a second time on the

**The attack
of the
Persians.**

lifeless bodies of many brave men, but the Persians had not gained an inch of ground. On the third day the treachery of one man did what the skill and valour of thousands had tried in vain.

When Leonidas took his stand at Thermopylae he learned from the people of these parts that there was yet another road out of Thessaly, a roundabout mountain path which crossed the crest of Oeta and led down into the valley beyond Thermopylae. As it was necessary to defend this path, the Phocians, who knew the country best, volunteered for this duty. They took up a position on the crest of the hill and stayed there two days and nights. On the third day at dawn a slight noise broke the silence of the forest. It was the sound of leaves trampled under the feet of marching troops. A Persian detachment was crossing the mountain road under the guidance of a Greek named Ephialtes. Both sides were taken aback at this sudden meeting. The Persians who expected to find the road clear, anxiously inquired of their guide whether these too were Spartans. Reassured on this point they summoned up courage to attack. The Persian arrows soon put the Phocians to flight, and now there was nothing to keep the invaders from descending the mountain and attacking the Greeks in their rear. Before the enemy closed in scouts had brought word of their approach. A hasty conference was held, for the Greeks still had time to withdraw and save their own lives, and there was no shame in leaving a post it was no longer possible to hold. The Spartans alone had no choice. The laws of their country forbade retreat; they might die at their post, but they must not turn their back on the foe. The rest of the troops were ordered to withdraw, and if possible check the advance of the Persians in the rear. The Spartans were to remain in the pass and with them the Thespians,

They find a path across the mountains.

who volunteered to stay, and some Thebans, who however deserted after the battle. Leonidas and his men were resolved to sell their lives dearly. This time they marched right out of the pass and themselves began to attack, driving the front ranks of the Persians before them. The space was too small for their numbers to tell. Some were driven into the sea, and others trodden down in the morass. While some pressed on others pushed them back, and the slave drivers with their heavy whips hunted them back into the fight. The Persians had "great numbers but few men," says Herodotus, while each of the small band of Greeks was a man and a hero, ready to lay down his life as a free gift for his country's sake. At last all the Greeks had their spears shattered and were forced to fight with their swords alone. Now Leonidas fell, and round his body the fight raged fast and furious, as it had done long ago round Patroclus on the plain of Troy. Four times the Persians had all but captured it, four times the Greeks drove them back. At last the tiny band of survivors retired with the body of their leader into the narrow passage behind the cross wall, and sat down on a little mound exposed to the enemy in their front and rear. Here they were surrounded and slain, defending themselves to the last.

Leonidas and the Spartans die at their post.

While the Peloponnesians were fighting for Greek freedom at Thermopylae the two fleets had been engaged at Artemisium. The Persians were at least four times as numerous as the Greeks, but these had an ally who had once before done them good service. When the Delphians had asked the god for help in this great peril, he had bidden them offer up prayers to the Winds; for the Greeks would find them powerful allies. Once again a violent storm came to shatter the Persian ships as they lay at anchor south

The sea fight at Artemisium.

of the Magnesian peninsula. Three days and nights it lasted, and sea and shore were strewn with corpses and wrecks. Calm returned on the fourth day, and the Persian fleet moved away to Aphetae, reduced in numbers, and therefore, the Greeks thought, a fairer match for their opponents. From this time forth they set up altars and offered prayer and sacrifice to the Winds and to Poseidon the Deliverer. It was only gradually they learned all that the storm had done for them. The Persians fearing they could not destroy the whole Greek fleet in one battle, had despatched two hundred ships with orders to sail round Euboea and up through the straits from the south, thus enclosing the Greeks on all sides. They hoped to do by sea what Xerxes succeeded in doing on land—cut off the enemy in front and behind. Meantime welcome news reached the Greeks. One of the Thracian sailors who had deserted from the Persians plunged under water, and being a splendid diver he managed to swim right across to Artemisium, a distance of ten miles. In this way the Greeks learned what damage had been done to the Persian fleet, and also heard of the force that had been sent round to hem them in. Now they could no longer escape even if they wished it, and the nearness of the danger gave them fresh courage. Themistocles the Athenian admiral, who knew a great deal more about naval matters than Eurybiades the Spartan, who held the chief command, persuaded the others instead of waiting to be attacked, to sail out into the open and begin the battle themselves. The result was the capture of thirty ships by the Greeks. Night fell on the unfinished fight. Next day brought cheering news. The two hundred Persian ships which had been sent round the island had been dashed on some dangerous rocks by the same storm which had done such damage to the main fleet. The Greeks need have no more fear of being taken in the rear; and, best

of all, they were joined by fifty-three Athenian ships who had been able to leave their post in the Euripus now there was nothing more to fear in that quarter. On the third day the great battle of Artemisium was fought. This time the Persians attacked with their ships in the form of a crescent, for they intended to surround and cut off the enemy. It was the narrowness of the strait which saved the Greeks, for the enemy's line was broken through want of space, and their ships were dashed together and thrown into confusion. The Greeks could move much more easily owing to their small numbers and better knowledge of these waters. Both sides lost heavily, and both claimed the victory. But the Persian numbers were bound to tell at last. On land they had already prevailed. That very evening brought the news of Thermopylae. It was useless for the Greek fleet to linger now, for the southern road lay open to the Persians, and there was nothing to hinder their march to Athens. At last the long awaited vengeance was at hand.

CHAPTER X.

THE SEA FIGHT AT SALAMIS.

THE isthmus of Corinth forms a natural division of Greece into two halves. As yet all that lay to the south of it was untouched and safe, but the north seemed already to be in the invader's hands. Some states had been conquered, others had submitted of their own free will or out of fear. Athens and Aegina alone, once bitter enemies, now united by a common patriotism and a common danger, were ready to hold out to the last. It was natural enough that the Greek counsels were divided now, for the Peloponnesians thought they had done enough for northern Greece and wanted to devote all their energies to the defence of the isthmus by sea and land; while the few unconquered states in the north entreated their allies to make one more stand before withdrawing to Corinth. The Spartans, who had the chief command, had never allowed the main body of the army to advance far beyond the isthmus, and had always found some convenient excuse when called upon to do so. But the time had come when Sparta was no longer all-powerful. Athens was fast becoming a formidable rival, for she had been slowly strengthening herself within and without, and now she was for the second time to become the saviour of Greece. The man to whom she owed this honour was Themistocles.

Themistocles was one of many great Athenians whose rise was due to the changes in the state made by Solon

and Cleisthenes. As he did not belong to a noble family, he would not in former times have been able to hold any office. It was a good thing that

Themistocles.

Athens had now learnt how to use her greatest men, regardless of their birth. Though his parentage was humble, he was extraordinarily ambitious. Even as a little child he loved to hear tales of adventures and brave deeds, and could hardly await the day when he should be old enough to perform them himself. When he was a boy his favourite studies were rhetoric and politics, and in these no work was too hard for him; but he was lazy enough when he had to learn music and poetry and other things which did not interest him. His schoolmaster once said to him: "My boy, you will be nothing common or indifferent. You will either be a blessing or a curse to your country." This was a true prophecy, for Themistocles was destined to win both glory and disgrace. Side by side with Themistocles grew up another youth of great promise, Aristides, son of a noble house, and destined to become his chief rival. He was one of the generals at Marathon and archon in the following year, when he won a name for honesty and uprightness for which he was always held in honour.

Themistocles was probably at Marathon as well. At any rate, the memory of the great victory had taken hold of his mind. If Miltiades could win honour by saving his country, why not Themistocles? His whole soul was filled with a passion for glory. He passed sleepless nights thinking of the trophy of Miltiades, and wondering how he might win one for himself.

The feud between Athens and Aegina which had just been healed by a common danger had lasted for many years. Sometimes one side was successful, sometimes another, but Athens was unable to deal her rival a crushing blow owing

Rise of the
Athenian
navy.

to the smallness of her fleet. The Athenians took naturally to a seafaring life; they delighted in adventure and took pride in their trade, while the Spartans took no interest in either. But even the Athenians were only slowly finding out how much more useful a fleet was for them than an army, and did not guess that their true destiny was to hold command of the seas. This great discovery was made by Themistocles, who implored his countrymen to set to work and build ships. But where was the money to come from? In those days Athenian soldiers furnished their own armour and kept themselves when on campaign. Rich citizens supplied horses for the cavalry and presented triremes to the state. All other military expenses were provided by taxation. But any one who proposed new heavy taxes would only make himself unpopular, and that would make it harder to carry out his plans. Happily accident came to the aid of Themistocles.

**Ships built
with money
from the
silver mines
at Laurium.**

Down in the south-eastern corner of Attica, in the hilly district of Laurium, were some silver mines which had been worked more or less successfully for some years. Just at this time it happened that a very rich vein was struck, which brought in an unexpected wind-fall to the Athenian treasury. The mines were the property of the state, which meant all the citizens, and it was proposed that the large sum thus acquired should be divided equally among them. Themistocles saw his opportunity. He appealed to the people to put the public welfare before their own private gain. Here was an unexpected source of income. No one would be the poorer by giving it up, but all would be the richer if it were spent on the navy. He moved that the proceeds of the mines should be devoted to building new warships. The proposal was carried. Two hundred

new triremes were added to the navy. They were to do Athens good service.

One half of Themistocles' plan was now accomplished, but the city was in great want of a convenient harbour. The open bay of Phalerum on the south afforded no shelter from storms,

The new
harbour of
Athens.

so that the ships had often to be hauled up and beached, because it was not safe to leave them in this exposed roadstead. Themistocles had long been urging the Athenians to construct a proper harbour. Four miles from Athens on the west lay the large natural haven called the Peiraeus, with two smaller ones a little further east. They were deep and wide enough to admit all the largest ships, yet so narrow at the mouth that chains could easily be drawn across to keep the enemy out. If the little rocky peninsula opposite Salamis were strongly fortified it would render these harbours absolutely secure, and no enemy could hurt Athens by sea. With a safe harbour and a strong navy Athens could easily keep the first place in Greece. For her, as for our own island country, a navy was more important than an army. Themistocles was far-sighted enough to recognise this, but he was opposed by a strong party led by Aristeides, who dreaded so great a change in Attic policy. The glorious deeds of Athens on land were matter of history, but her achievements at sea lay in the future, and perhaps the gods might never grant her the renown she sought there. Party feeling ran high, and it soon became evident that persons holding such very different views could no longer work together for the good of the state. One side must give way.

Themistocles
and Aris-
teides at the
head of two
parties.

There was at Athens a curious institution known as ostracism, which was introduced, probably by Cleisthenes, to prevent a return of the tyranny. Any citizen who seemed to be

Aristeides is
ostracised.

getting too much power and influence might be sent into banishment if a sufficient number of the other citizens voted for it. This was not a punishment, for he kept his property and his rights, and he might live wherever he pleased out of Athens. The Assembly had to decide every year whether there was any occasion for holding an ostracism, but no name was ever mentioned in the proposal. If they decided to hold one, a voting day was fixed and a railing put up round a portion of the market place, with ten openings, one for each tribe. Each voter wrote on a potsherd, which in Greek is *ostrakon*, the name of the person he wished to banish, and the man whose name appeared on most



POTSHERD (*Ostrakon*) WITH THE NAME OF THEMISTOCLES (*Themistokles Phrearrios*).

potsherds had to leave Athens for ten years. If there were less than six thousand votes recorded, the whole thing was null and void, for no citizen ought to be sent into exile unless the rest thought the matter important enough to vote about it. As both Themistocles and Aristides were very powerful, and each party thought the leader of the other was injuring the state, it seemed the best plan to call for an ostracism and let the people decide between them.

The lot of banishment fell on Aristides; he left the city, to return in the hour of her deepest need. The story goes that, as he stood by the voting-urn, watching men throw in their potsherds, an ignorant fellow

who did not know how to write came up and asked him to put the name Aristeides on a potsherd for him. He did so at once, but asked the man what harm Aristeides had done him that he wished to see him banished. "No harm whatever," was the reply, "but I am tired of hearing him called the Just."

After the ostracism of Aristeides, the plans of Themistocles were carried out; and this was the best thing that could happen. Indeed it was a pity it had not happened sooner, for the danger he foresaw came so soon that the fortifications of the new harbour were not yet finished when Athens most needed to use them.

Themistocles was as good a general as he was a statesman. It was he who commanded the Athenian ships at Artemisium, and it was through following his advice that the small Greek navy had kept the Persians at bay for three days. Now it would have been useless to delay longer, for Thermopylae had been forced and the road to Athens lay open. It was vain to hope that the Peloponnesians would do anything to defend her. They had marched south as fast as they could and were busy building a wall across the isthmus, leaving Attica to her fate. In this hour of danger Themistocles alone kept calm and hopeful. As for the mass of the Athenians they could do nothing but remind one another of the terrible oracle they had received from Delphi at the beginning of the war. Fire, ruin and destruction were in store for Athens. The envoys, afraid to bring home so dreadful a prophecy, had refused to leave the temple till a more favourable answer was vouchsafed them, and at last a second message was delivered. It ran thus:—

"Pallas cannot prevail to soften Zeus the Olympian,
Though she assail him with words and ply him with counsels of
wisdom,
Yet will I give thee afresh an answer firm and unchanging :

The danger
of Athens.

Conquered must lie the land where stands the fortress Cecropian,
 Conquered the peaceful mead of sacred Cithaeron; but thenceforth
 Zeus, wide-gazing, permits to keep in honour of Pallas
 Walls of wood unshaken to shelter thee and thy children.
 Wait not for horse nor for foot that come to ruin thy country
 Out of the mainland afar; but rather yield to the foeman,
 Turning thy back in flight, for yet shalt thou meet him in battle.
 O divine Salamis! how many children of women
 Shalt thou slay at the sowing of corn or the ripening of harvest!"

This was very obscure, but a little more hopeful than the former answer. Themistocles, at any rate, was quite ready to interpret it. Wooden walls were to shelter them. Well, had they not built a strong new fleet, which could carry them wherever they desired to go? Wherever the Athenians chose to abide, there was Athens. Even though they might have to abandon the sacred Acropolis with its shrines and temples, they would still have a home so long as they could worship their gods in freedom. As for Salamis, whither the allied fleets had withdrawn after Artemisium, would Apollo have called it "divine" if it was to bring destruction on Greece? "Cruel" or "direful" would surely have been the word used. The "children of women" doomed to perish were the Persians; it was an omen of hope that the god had vouchsafed them. Thus Themistocles encouraged, explained and exhorted,

Themistocles
 persuades the
 Athenians to
 take to their
 ships.

till at last he persuaded the Athenians to obey the oracle and leave the city before the arrival of the Persians. An order was now issued that every Athenian citizen was to remove his wife and children to a place of safety. Ships were placed at their disposal, and a present of eight drachmas (about six shillings) was given to every one who obeyed the order. Then the great migration began. There was no time to waste, for the enemy was fast approaching. A sad sight was that embarkation down by the port; women and chil-

dren hurried on board, carrying a few of their most treasured possessions, last good-byes to the dear homes they were giving over to pillage and flames, cruel partings from the aged who preferred death to exile, and amidst all the pitiful whining of the poor household pets whom they were forced to leave behind. One faithful dog actually jumped into the sea and swam after the ship which carried his master until he came to Salamis, where he died of exhaustion.

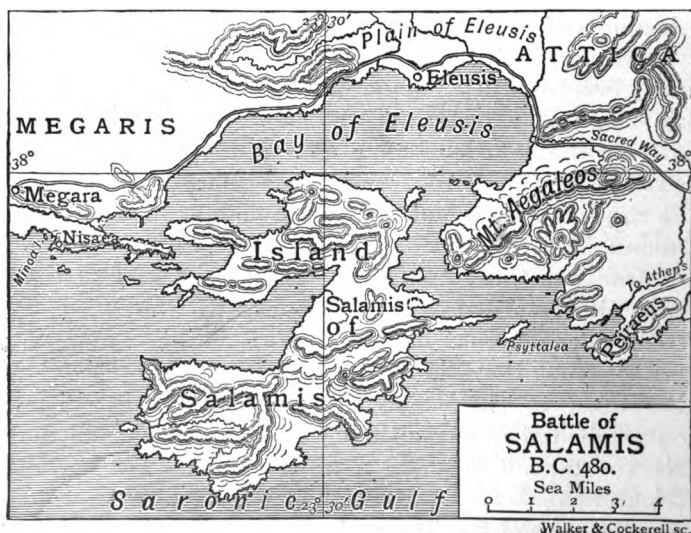
Some of the Athenians went to Salamis, others to Aegina and Troezen. They were kindly received everywhere, and their new friends tried to make them forget they had lost their homes. At Troezen they were kept at the public expense, and the children were allowed to attend the schools and to pick fruit in any of the gardens and orchards. So we may suppose that they at any rate were not so very unhappy in their new homes.

Meantime those Athenians who had refused to leave their city returned to the Acropolis with the small garrison that had been left in charge, for of course they did not mean to hand over the town to the enemy without a struggle. They entrenched themselves there as well as they could, and Xerxes did not keep them waiting long. The Persian troops at once took possession of the Areopagus, which was lower than the Acropolis, and connected with it by a narrow ridge. The Athenians rolled down stones on them, and managed to hold out for fourteen days. Then the Persians set fire to the wooden palisade with arrows wrapped round with burning tow. Even now the ancient walls barred their approach on the west. At last the Persians discovered the steep ascent on the north, by which they climbed up and surprised the garrison. The gates were now opened to the main army, and the citadel sacked and burnt. Not a house

Xerxes takes
Athens and
burns it.

nor a temple was left standing. Xerxes could look on the smouldering ruins of Athens and feel that Sardis and the honour of Persia were avenged at last.

For all this Athens was not really destroyed. All of her that was really great, her courage, her patriotism, her firm trust in the gods, her love of freedom and beauty: these still survived. At Aegina, Salamis and Troezen, and in the wooden ships that carried her fortunes, men and women were waiting till the storm



and danger should be past to plant a new and fairer Athens on the ancient rock of their fathers.

Now that the Athenians had brought their wives and children to a place of safety, they could put all their mind and strength into the great sea fight which awaited them. Not so the Peloponnesians. Their homes still stood untouched; and many of them were eager to turn back at once to protect their own shores, leaving everything

The generals hold a council of war at Salamis.

north of the isthmus to the enemy. Eurybiades, the Spartan admiral, called a council of war. Most of those present were in favour of sailing away to the isthmus without delay. In the midst of the discussion a messenger arrived with the news of the capture and burning of Athens. This put an end to the debate. They decided to leave Salamis and sail south next morning.

Themistocles left the council with a heavy heart. That resolution meant ruin to Athens, for the presence of the fleet alone protected the fugitives. A friend urged him to try once more to get the decision reversed. Late as it was, he returned to the ship of Eurybiades and earnestly entreated him to reconsider the matter. The admiral consented, and next morning a second council was summoned. So eager was Themistocles to put his case that he got up to speak before his name was called. At this the Corinthian admiral, who was his bitterest enemy, called out: "Themistocles, at the Games those who start before the signal are scourged". "True," replied Themistocles, "but those who start too late win no prizes." Then he turned to Eurybiades and besought him with all the eloquence and persuasion he could command not to leave Salamis. If they sailed away now they would be forsaking Megara and Aegina; besides the Persian fleet would surely follow them, and they would have to fight in the open sea instead of a narrow strait. His words made little impression. Adeimantus, the Corinthian, rose a second time and said that, as the Athenians no longer had a country, their vote ought not to count, and there was no need to listen to Themistocles. But the Athenian was not at a loss for an answer. He reminded the council that his city had sent two hundred ships, more than all the other states put together. Wherever these

ships went there was Athens, and there was nothing to prevent them from sailing away and founding a new home elsewhere, as good as Corinth, yes, and better. If the Peloponnesians decided to depart, well, let them go; but they need not expect the Athenian triremes to accompany them. Eurybiades was moved by this threat, for he knew the Athenians had the most ships and the best sailors; but all the others were as bitterly opposed as ever to staying at Salamis. Even if the order were given to remain, it seemed probable that they would drift away homeward by twos and threes. Since persuasion seemed useless, Themistocles determined to use stratagem. He sent a slave whom he could trust, and who could speak Persian, and

**and prevents
their escape.** bade him take this message to Xerxes: "I am sent by the Athenian general without the knowledge of the other Greeks (for he is well disposed towards you, and desires that you should win the victory rather than the Greeks), to tell you that the Greeks are about to take flight, and that you have now the chance of winning the greatest victory of the whole war, if you prevent them from escaping. For they are not in agreement with one another, and are no longer prepared to withstand you. Instead, you will now witness a fight at sea between those who favour you and those who oppose you."

Xerxes was overjoyed at this message. He at once directed his generals to close up the strait of Salamis both north and south of the town near which the Greek fleet lay, and two hundred ships were sent round to the west of the island to cut off escape on that side too. Meantime a third council had been summoned and an angry debate was in progress, when word was brought that some one outside wanted to speak to Themistocles. He went out and found his old rival Aristeides, who had been recalled

**Return of
Aristeides.**

along with all other political exiles, by a decree passed before the Athenians left their city. Aristides had crossed over from Aegina in a small boat, making his way with difficulty through the Persian fleet, and had come with all speed to tell the Greeks that they were hemmed in by the enemy. This was welcome news to Themistocles. We may fancy how warmly he grasped his old enemy's hand, and how these two brave men rejoiced that this time at least they could fight side by side for their beloved country. They returned together to the council, and Aristides repeated his tale to the admirals. The wrangling ceased at once. Real danger was at hand; the time for action was come, and the one thought in all minds was how best to prepare for the fight.

When the next morning broke two fleets lay opposite one another ready for battle. The Greek line with its 380 ships stretched across the strait at its narrowest point, reaching from the town of Salamis on the left to the sanctuary of Heracles on the right. Opposite them on the south, where the strait broadened into a bay, lay the thousand ships of the Persians. This was the sight that Xerxes beheld when he mounted the golden throne from which he was to watch the battle. All round him were grouped his scribes, with tablets on which they were to note deeds of valour or cowardice and, according to their testimony, the king would administer reward and punishment. Xerxes never for a moment doubted his own victory. Nor yet did the Greeks, who had been forced into the fight against their will. But Themistocles was still ready to put his trust in the wooden walls and the free spirit of Greece. Now was the supreme moment by which all his plans and actions must stand or fall. If ever the Greeks were to get the better of the Persians, it must be at sea, on this very spot, and now.

The day was rough and a strong south-west wind was blowing when the Persian fleet moved forward to the attack. They had to row hard against wind and tide, and their numbers were a hindrance rather than a help. At first the Greeks seemed unwilling to stand their onset, and began to back and even run some of the ships aground. It was only a passing panic, for they soon rallied. Afterwards it was said that a woman of gigantic size appeared and rebuked the Greeks, urging them on to the fight. Soon an Athenian vessel dashed forward and attacked one of the enemy's ships. The two were entangled by the shock; others came to their aid and the fight became general. The battle lasted all day. The Greeks tried to force a way out of the strait, the Persians wanted to keep them in and close round them, but their own ships were so numerous and large that they got in each other's way. If one was disabled and tried to retire, it hindered the advance of another. They broke each other's oars, lost control of their own vessels, and drifted alongside the Greek ships exposing their sides to the enemy. At last the Persian fleet was in such confusion as to be almost helpless. Then some of the Aeginetan ships succeeded in breaking through the enemy's line, and attacked in the rear. The Athenians joined them, and they actually pursued the enemy right out of the strait. The Persian ranks were now broken and could not be rallied. Aristides seeing that the tide of battle had turned, took some soldiers across to the little island at the entrance to the bay, where some of the best Persian troops had been posted. He fell on them and killed them while the Persian ships were floundering in hopeless confusion and hindering each other's movements. One of the ships from Halicarnassus was commanded in person by their queen Artemisia. She must have been a very clever woman, for before the battle she gave Xerxes

better advice than any of his generals. She wanted him to put off fighting till his land forces reached the isthmus, when the Greek fleet would be sure to follow, and he could choose his own place for the battle. This was just what Themistocles had tried to prevent, and it is curious that these two, the Athenian general and the subject queen, were the only persons who realised what was the real advantage of Persia. Artemisia distinguished herself greatly in the battle, but she did one very mean action. Being attacked by an Athenian trireme and hemmed in so that she could not escape, she struck one of the friendly ships to clear a space for her own, and it sank with all on board. Xerxes who saw the encounter and thought it was an enemy's ship she had sunk, exclaimed in wonder: "My men have become women, and my women men."

From morning till evening Xerxes sat on his golden throne and watched the attack, the battle and the rout. With what different feelings he must have left it when all was over, and his mighty hopes lay shattered.

"A king sat on the rocky brow
That looks on sea-born Salamis,
And ships, by thousands, lay below
And men in nations; all were his;
He counted them at break of day,
And when the sun set, where were they?"

Thus sang Byron, an English poet who loved Greece, but the greatest poet of the Athenians, Aeschylus, who took part in the battle himself, told the tale for his countrymen in a play called the "Persians," which has preserved for all time the memory of this wonderful day.

Victory had fallen to the Greeks, but the Persian fleet still far outnumbered theirs, and they expected another attack on the following day. They were fully prepared for it; not so the Persians. Xerxes

was, like other eastern despots, unaccustomed to disappointment; he wanted to succeed at once in all his undertakings; the sea and the winds must not thwart the ruler who aimed at the mastery of the world. He began to doubt his success at sea. Then there were disquieting rumours of a rising at Babylon, which made his presence in Asia imperative. Mardonius strongly urged him to return home, pointing out that his purpose was accomplished, since Athens lay in ashes. The conquest of the rest of Greece was a comparatively small matter which his master might well leave to him and a few chosen troops. Mardonius knew well enough that the great numbers of the Persian army were a hindrance rather than a help, since they would have to be fed, and had already exhausted most of the available provisions. These half savage troops were only useful for show; for serious warfare neither the king nor his medley of strange nations was wanted.

In the morning, when the Greeks began to draw out their ships for a second engagement, they
Xerxes found that the Persian fleet had vanished.
returns to
Asia. The Greeks were so elated that they actually started in pursuit, and got as far as the island of Andros, where they halted to hold a council of war. Again Themistocles came forward with a daring proposal. Let them sail with all speed to the Hellespont, break down the bridge and cut off the retreat of Xerxes. Eurybiades opposed the scheme. Better let the enemy get out of Europe as soon as possible. Aristides backed this view, which carried the day, and the fleet returned to Greek waters.

CHAPTER XI.

THE END OF THE GREAT INVASION.

THE battle of Salamis was a blow from which Xerxes could not easily recover. The shock between East and West had taken place, and the result was unexpected. Xerxes had looked upon this European expedition as a sort of triumphal procession; now he was finding out his mistake, and hurried back for fear the Greeks should be beforehand with him, and break down the bridge before he could get his troops safely home. Mardonius stayed behind with an army of 300,000 picked Persians and Medes, and was not sorry to see the last of the others.

The return of
Xerxes.

The king's journey back to the Hellespont was very different from his triumphant outward march. Then it was spring time, and his army was full of hope and courage. Wherever they marched the subject nations had brought of their best for the Great King's army. Now it was late autumn, and already the first signs of winter were seen. The supplies along the road had been for the most part exhausted; the men were dispirited, and the news of their defeat had preceded them. They no longer met with deference and humble offers of service. Half dead with hunger and cold, they crossed the frozen Strymon, and "men who had never bowed the knee then cried to earth and heaven for mercy, and happiest was he to whom death came the quickest". At last they reached the Hellespont, only to find the bridges broken by a storm. The troops

were carried across in boats, and were thankful to go into winter quarters and rest after their hardships.

It was too late for Mardonius to do anything more that year, for in olden times all the fighting took place in the summer; and in winter both sides remained in their camps, and waited till the spring brought fresh grass for the horses and food for the men. Mardonius spent the winter in Thessaly, which had submitted to the Persians, so that his army might rest in friendly territory. The Greek fleet returned to Salamis to offer sacrifices for victory and distribute the spoils. They dedicated to the gods at Sunium, the Isthmus and Salamis the three ships first taken from the enemy, and sent splendid gifts to Delphi and Olympia. The prize for valour in the battle was given to the Aeginetans, because they had broken the Persian line. The commander's prize should have gone to Themistocles, to whose advice and ability the victory was due. But the jealousy of the rest kept it from him. At Sparta, where he went soon after the battle, the greatest honours awaited him. He was crowned with a wreath of olive, and presented with a magnificent chariot. When he left the city three hundred mounted citizens escorted him to the frontier. Never before had Sparta so honoured a member of any other state. For all that, the Athenians next year gave the command of their fleet to Xanthippus and the land forces to Aristides.

When the winter was over Mardonius prepared to march out of Thessaly, but first he sent an ambassador to Athens. This was Alexander, King of Macedonia, a friend and ally of the Athenians, to whom they would be more likely to listen than any one else. The Athenians, who knew how they were hated by Xerxes, were not a

**Mardonius
sends a
message to
Athens.**

little surprised when Alexander spoke to them, saying : "These are the words of Mardonius : 'A message has come to me from the King, saying : I forgive the Athenians all the wrong which they have committed against me, and this is my command : Give them back their land, and let them choose another land as large, wherever they will, remaining under their own laws ; and with respect to the temples which I burned, if they will join you, rebuild them all.'" Alexander strongly urged the Athenians to accept so generous an offer.

The news of this embassy had meantime reached Sparta, where it caused the greatest alarm, for, if the Athenians went over to Persia, **Sparta promises to help Athens.** neither the wall across the Isthmus nor all their combined forces could avail to save the Peloponnesus. Messengers were hastily despatched to Athens, imploring her to remain steadfast. They reached the city in time to hear Alexander's address to the Assembly, and were allowed to speak after him on behalf of Sparta. They besought the Athenians by all they held most sacred to reject the offer of Mardonius. Athens had always been the stronghold of freedom, surely she would never stoop to embrace the tyrant's cause. The Persians had inflicted grievous suffering on her, but the Spartans were ready to succour. They would help to rebuild the city, compensate her for the loss of the harvest, and support the wives and families of the Athenians as long as the war lasted. Only let Athens stand firm : "Do not listen to Alexander nor let him beguile you into accepting the offer of Mardonius. He is a tyrant and speaks on behalf of a tyrant, and full well you know that barbarians are liars and not to be believed."

When the envoys had thus spoken they anxiously awaited the Athenian reply. They need have felt no

alarm. "Go back," they said, "to Mardonius, and tell him that so long as the sun holds his course in heaven the Athenians will never come to terms with Xerxes. With the help of the gods and heroes whose shrines and homes he has pillaged and burnt, we will go forth and fight the foe." Then turning to the Spartans they went on: "The images and temples of our gods are destroyed, shall we let them go unavenged? We are all one nation, bound together by ties of race and language, sharing the same common sacrifices and temples, and cherishing the same customs. Shall Athenians turn traitors! Tell the Spartans that, so long as a single Athenian survives, we will never come to terms with Persia. For your kind offer of succour we thank you, but we prefer to bear our own burdens as best we may. We only ask you to be ready to meet the invader who is not far off, and to join us in Boeotia, where we must fight on behalf of Attica."

Athens
refuses the
offer of
Mardonius.

It was indeed no great thing the Athenians asked in return for their own loyalty, yet even this was not granted. Once free from the fear of Athenian treachery the Spartans returned to their selfish policy and devoted themselves to strengthening the Peloponnesus instead of sending an army to the assistance of Athens. Mardonius meantime set out on his march southward, and the Athenians, after hoping to the very last for help from Sparta, were forced again to abandon their city to the enemy. Sadly they bade farewell to the homes whose walls and roofs were just beginning to rise out of the ashes, and retired for a second time to Salamis. Mardonius passed unopposed through Attica and into the defenceless capital. This time not a single inhabitant remained behind, and Xerxes had left but little for his successor to plunder and burn. Mardonius took possession of a desert, and may have felt, as he stood

among the ruins of the Acropolis, that "It is men, not walls, that make a city".

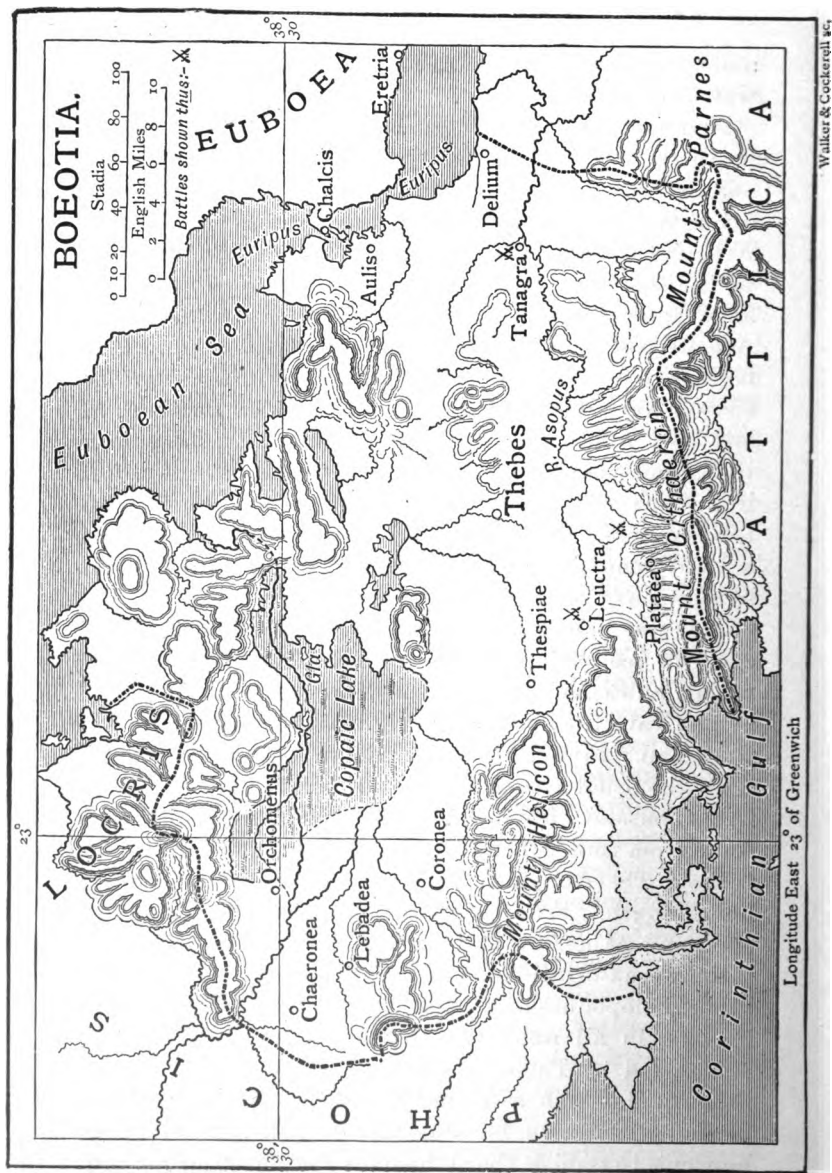
And still the Spartans delayed. First they had to finish their wall, then they had to celebrate a festival; any excuse was good enough, when all they really cared about was the safety of Southern Greece. At last the Athenians, Megarians and Plataeans sent a joint embassy to the Spartans, to remind them of their promise. In an eloquent and touching speech they set forth how Athens had rejected all the offers of the enemy, and had trusted to Spartan faith in vain. For ten days the envoys were detained with one pretext or another; at last they would wait no longer. They told the ephors that, since Sparta refused her help, they must not object if Athens now made such terms as she could with the invaders. To their surprise the ephors replied that a Lacedaemonian army had actually started and must by now have reached the Isthmus.

This was indeed the truth. Either the Spartans had come to see their mistake or their Peloponnesian allies had given them wiser counsels, at any rate they sent an army and the best they had. Five thousand Spartan citizens with the usual accompaniment of helots, and

Sparta sends
an army
under
Pausanias,
479 B.C.

five thousand provincials—this was a very different force from that which had marched out under Leonidas to hold Thermopylae. This time Greece put forth all her strength. From Salamis came Aristeides with eight thousand Athenians and six hundred Plataeans. Then there were Corinthians and Arcadians and Argives and other Peloponnesians, and troops from Aegina and Megara, in all about 70,000 men, the very flower of Hellas, led by Pausanias, a Spartan general.

Mardonius was awaiting them in Boeotia, whither he had withdrawn, burning and devastating Attica as he went, to punish the Athenians for rejecting his pro-



posals. He retired because he preferred to meet the enemy in a territory that was friendly to Persia. This time he knew that a real battle was at hand, where both sides would fight to the death, something very different from either Marathon or Thermopylae. The Persians being on the spot could choose their own ground for fighting. They took up a position on the north bank of the Asopus, which separated the lands of Thebes and Plataea. Thebes, which was friendly to the Persians, he made his base. Plataea was the bitter enemy of Thebes and had always kept faithful to the Hellenic cause; perhaps Mardonius thought of this when he chose his ground in such a way that it was almost certain the battle would be fought in Plataean territory. Close to the river the Persians built a square camp, each side of which was more than a mile long, and the Theban trees were ruthlessly cut down to make its walls and turrets. They had plenty of time for this before the approach of the enemy.

Mardonius prepares to meet them in Boeotia.

At last the Greeks were seen on the slopes of Mount Cithaeron, the range which separates Attica from Boeotia. Mardonius expected them to come down into the plain, but as they had no cavalry they were safer among the hills, and they hoped the Persians would come and attack them there. After a while they saw a troop of Persian cavalry riding towards them under their general Masistius, a splendid figure clad in glittering armour, and mounted on a white horse with golden trappings. The brunt of the charge fell on a little band of three hundred Megarians, who sent to Pausanias for help. Volunteers were called for, and Athenians were ready at once. A picked force was now sent to repel the Persian attack. For some time the cavalry had it all their own way, then the general's horse was struck by an arrow. It

The battle of Plataea, August, 479 B.C.

reared and threw its rider, and some Athenians at once closed round it and overpowered Masistius. Even now they could not kill him, for no weapon could penetrate that wonderful armour. At last his eye was pierced by a spear. The Persians were overwhelmed with grief at the death of Masistius. They massed their forces for one last furious charge in the hope of at least rescuing his corpse since they had not been able to save his life. This time the Athenians were hard pressed, but other troops came to their aid, and the charge was repulsed. The death of Masistius had cast down the Persians and encouraged the Greeks. Pausanias now ventured to leave the shelter of the hills and descend into the valley in the direction of Thebes. But instead of marching boldly forward to the river, he halted about half-way on flat ground, in the neighbourhood of a good spring which supplied abundant water for the troops. This halt was a mistake. Pausanias should either have marched across the river and engaged at once or have stayed in his first safe position. By moving into the plain he had lost control of the mountain passes. A detachment of Persians was sent to seize these, and they captured a convoy which was bringing supplies for the troops. Nor did this move hasten on the decisive battle. For several days the two armies lay opposite one another, but the Greeks were in a bad position for attacking, and it suited the Persians better to stay near their strong camp and let the enemy move first. Now and then Persian archers crossed the stream and harassed the Greeks, and on one of these expeditions they managed to choke up the spring and cut off the supply of water. This decided Pausanias to change his position, for here they were cut off both from food and drink. A council of war was held, at which it was decided to seek a new line of defence about a mile nearer Plataea where there was

plenty of water, and less exposure. One division of the troops was to move eastward, and try to recover the main pass.

The march began, but somehow everything went wrong. The Peloponnesians, in the centre, started in a hurry and marched a mile too far. The Spartans at first would not set out at all, because one of their captains refused to obey the order. The movement directed by Pausanias was a rearward one, and meant turning their backs on the enemy. This was forbidden by the law of their country, and nothing would induce this obstinate Spartan to break even the letter of the law. At last when he found himself left behind he gave the order to his men to follow. To make matters worse the Athenians would not move till they heard that the Spartans had started, although they ought to have set out first because they were so placed that they had more ground to cover. So it happened that the army broke up into three divisions. At daybreak the Persians noticed that the Greek centre had disappeared, while two wings were moving on Plataea with no connexion between them. This seemed the moment to attack and take them unawares. Mardonius believed that the Greeks had been delivered into his hands. Without delay he led his forces across the river, intending to strike the first blow before the troops could form into line. But Pausanias rose to the occasion. At once he drew out the right wing and turned to face the enemy, sending word to the Athenians to hasten to his assistance. Before the message reached them they were themselves attacked by the Boeotians who were fighting on the Persian side. Two separate battles now began. On the slope of the hill the Persians and Lacedaemonians were engaged; down in the valley the Boeotians and Athenians. The Persians made a barricade of their large wicker shields, and began to shoot

from behind this shelter, but the Greeks soon forced them to drop their bows and engage in hand to hand fighting. It was a hard struggle. Both sides fought bravely, and no man won greater honour than Mar-donius, who seemed to be in all places at once, wherever



GREEK KILLING PERSIAN.
(From a vase-painting.)

the battle was thickest. At last he was struck down by a stone, and with him fell the hopes of the Persians. No one took his place ; a panic set in, and the Persians with one accord took to flight, and never stopped running till they were safely within the shelter of their own camp. The Spartans pursued, and made an

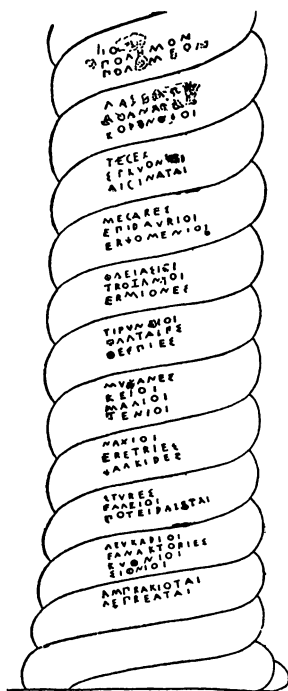
attempt on the camp, but had little success till they were joined by the Athenians, who had broken through the Boeotian line, killed two hundred of the bravest Thebans, and, pursuing the rest, had come up once more with the other wing of the Greek army. The Athenians, who had more experience of sieges, were able to make a breach in the wall, and the others forced a way in after them. The enemy scarcely offered any resistance, they were simply cut down and butchered; the Greeks were in no mood to spare a Persian, and it would be hard to blame them.

The Greek
victory.

The Persian camp was now in the hands of the Greeks, who gazed in wonder at the riches it contained. Pausanias gave orders that no one should touch the plunder till it had been collected by the helots, who were honest enough, no doubt, for they knew nothing of the value of what they found. Masses of gold and silver plate, bowls, jars and every kind of utensil, gilded couches and magnificent hangings were there; and on the bodies of the slain they found bracelets and necklets, as well as gold-hilted swords. Such sights as these were unknown at Sparta. But the most wonderful of all was the tent of Xerxes, which had been left behind for Mardonius. It was all a blaze of gold and colour. Pausanias, like a true Spartan, seized the opportunity to point the moral. He bade the king's slaves prepare a banquet for him, and serve it as they would to their master. Then he let his own servants prepare the usual Spartan dinner, and pointed out the contrast to the generals. "See," he cried, "the folly of the Mede, who, when he could dine at such a table, came to take away our scanty meal."

The spoils were now divided. As usual one-tenth went to Delphi, and it was used to make a golden tripod and a bronze pedestal. The pedestal exists to this day at Constantinople, and the names of the Greek

cities that took part in the battle may still be read on it. A magnificent statue of Zeus was sent to Olympia, and a bronze image of Poseidon was set up at the Isthmus. When the spoils had been divided the Greeks



PEDESTAL OF TRIPOD DEDICATED
AT DELPHI TO COMMEMORATE
THE BATTLE OF PLATAEA.
(Constantinople.)

buried their dead, and paid special honours to those who had done the bravest deeds. A quarrel nearly broke out over the distribution of the prizes. The Spartans claimed the chief credit in the battle, and the Athenians disputed it with them. Happily the Corinthian general suggested a way out of the difficulty. Let the first prize be given to the Plataeans, he counselled, who had sacrificed so much and fought so nobly both here and at Marathon. All parties at once agreed. The Plataeans received a large sum of money, with which they built a temple to Athena. An altar was set up near the battle-field to Zeus the Deliverer, and by command of the oracle all the fires in the district were put out because they were polluted by the bar-

barians, and rekindled with fresh fire brought from Delphi. It was then solemnly resolved that in future the territory of Plataea should be sacred and inviolate, that a great festival should be held every fifth year to commemorate the victory, and that the Plataeans should offer an annual

Honours paid
to the dead.

sacrifice to the dead who had fallen in their land. When the appointed day came round, a procession marched from the city to the tombs. At the head went a trumpeter, then came waggons laden with myrtle wreaths, and a black bull for sacrifice, followed by a number of youths with pitchers of wine and milk and jars of oil; last of all walked the chief magistrate of the city, clad in purple, carrying in one hand a sword, in the other a pitcher. In this he drew water from a sacred spring, and sprinkled the monuments of the dead. Then the bull was killed, and prayers were offered to Zeus, the lord of Olympus, and Hermes, the guide of spirits to the world below; while the ghosts of the men who had died for their country were solemnly bidden to the banquet. Last of all a bowl of wine was mixed, and a libation offered "to the men who died for the freedom of the Greeks".

The battle of Plataea had saved Greece. The victory was decisive. Even before the attack on the camp, one of the Persian generals, seeing the day was lost, had collected 40,000 men and fled from the country. Few of those who stayed behind saw their homes again. The great Eastern invasion was ended, and victory had fallen to the West.

Yet even now the deliverance of the Hellenes was not complete, for beyond the sea the Ionian cities were still subject to the Great King. Now if ever was the moment to strike another blow for freedom. Xerxes, who feared that the news of Salamis would encourage these cities to throw off his yoke, had collected the remainder of his fleet (for out of 1,100 triremes but 300 were left), and sent it to the island of Samos, to keep guard over the Greek cities and islands and put a stop to any attempt at revolt. This happened in the spring of 479, the year after Salamis. The Greek fleet was now at Delos, and

After Salamis
the Greek
fleet goes to
Delos,

uncertain whether to sail further east and attack the king in his own waters, or rest content with driving him away from theirs. While they were delaying three messengers came from Samos, imploring the Greeks to come and help their kinsmen. "Let but your ships be seen in the waters of Asia," they pleaded, "and all the Ionians will at once throw off the Persian yoke. In the name of the gods whom you and we alike worship, we beseech you to deliver us, your kinsmen, from slavery and help us drive away the barbarians." The Spartan admiral asked the name of the speaker, and he



A SACRIFICE.

(From a vase-painting by Polygnotus.)

answered "Hegesistratos," which means "the leader of a host". "I accept the omen," cried the admiral, "Swear that the Samians are ready to be our allies, and we will go." They gave the required pledge, then two of the messengers returned home to prepare his countrymen for action, and Hegesistratos stayed behind to lead the host.

When the Greeks came within sight of Samos they found that the enemy had disappeared. The Persians had not forgotten Salamis, and they did not mean to risk a second naval fight.

At sea they were dependent on the subject nations, on

and thence
to Samos.

Battle of
Mycale.

land the Medes and Persians knew how to fight and defend themselves. The fleet had been withdrawn to Mycale on the mainland opposite, and here the ships were drawn up on the shore and secured by a rampart. When the Greeks found that the enemy had left Samos, they sailed after them to Mycale, and seeing that no ships came out against them they tried to land there. On the beach they found a line of Persians drawn up, with their wicker shields planted in front of them. The Athenians rushed upon this barricade, broke it down and fell upon the Persians in a close mass. After a while these were driven back to their fortified camp, hotly pursued by the Athenians and Corinthians, who entered it along with them. Now the Spartans too came up and joined them. All the Persians were cut down or put to flight, two of their generals were killed; their camp and ships fell into the hands of the Greeks, who plundered and burned them. Then they returned to Samos. True to their promise the Samians had given their aid to the Greeks, and as soon as victory inclined towards them many of the other Ionians in the King's army deserted and went over to help their countrymen. Thus Lade was avenged by Mycale. Herodotus tells us that this battle was fought on the same day as Plataea. At the moment the Greeks were advancing to the charge a strange presentiment came upon them all, a conviction that in their own land Pausanias was beating back the Persians. From man to man this message passed unspoken and gave them fresh heart for the charge. They were sure of victory now since the gods had sent them this token, and both by land and sea the enemy had been delivered into their hands.

Victory of
the Greeks.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FOUNDATION OF ATHENIAN EMPIRE.

The Athenians return to their city. Of all the Greeks who had helped to repel the Persian invasion, none had fought more bravely or suffered more grievously than the Athenians. Twice they had been forced to leave their beautiful home and abandon it to the in-

vader's vengeance ; and when at last they could return in safety, they found little more than a heap of ruins. Even so they were not down-hearted. They were richer than before by the memory of Salamis and Marathon ; their strength had been tried and approved, and Athena herself had sent them a token of hope, for the sacred olive-tree which had been burnt by the Persians had put forth a fresh shoot, a symbol of the new and vigorous life that now awaited Athens.

They begin to build walls. As soon as the citizens had put up some sort of shelter for their families, they began to rebuild the walls. As the town had long ago spread out beyond its old limits, they now

drew a wider circuit round it, so as to include the whole of the city as well as a good many open spaces for fresh air and recreation. Surrounded on every side by high, thick walls, they hoped to defy any future invader at their own gates. The other cities watched the Athenians at work and began to feel alarmed, for they thought that such strong fortifications might make Athens too dangerous a neighbour. Accordingly they complained to Sparta, which still claimed the leadership

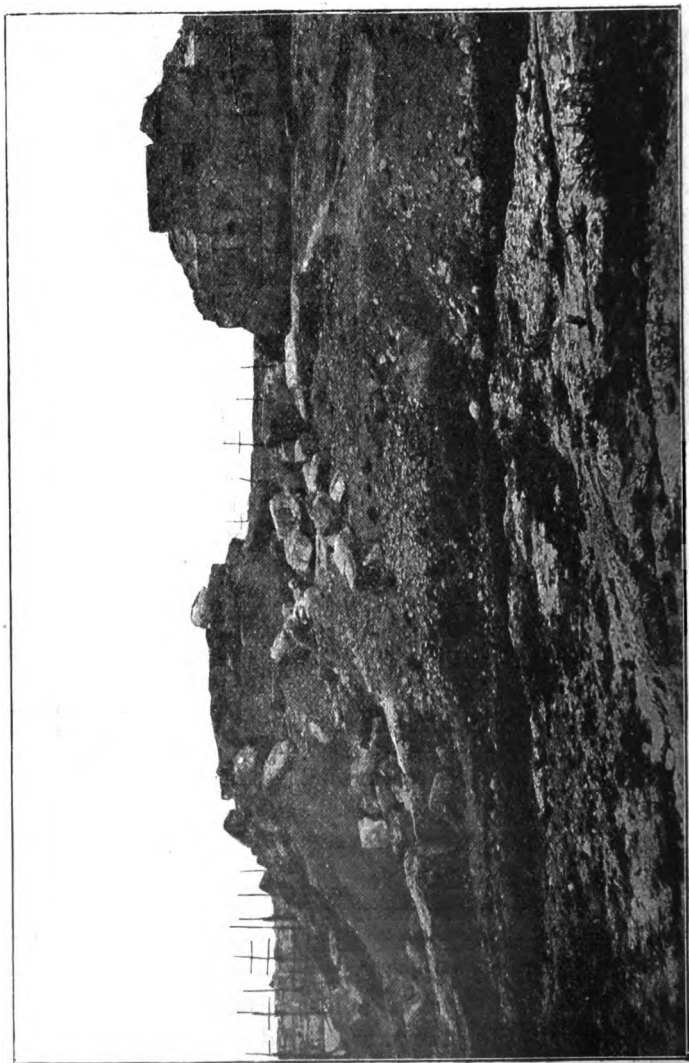
of all the Greek states, and now sent an embassy to Athens to advise her to stop fortifying the city. Suppose Greece should once more be invaded, they said, was it not probable that the enemy would attack and capture this fortress, and use it as a base from which they could assail other places? Far better that there should be no fortified

Sparta tries
to hinder
them,

cities in northern Greece; and in case of another invasion the Peloponnesians would gladly receive their kinsmen within the shelter of the Isthmus. If Athens valued the welfare of Greece, it was clearly her duty to stop building her own walls, and help to demolish those of other cities as well. Such were the Spartan arguments; and as Sparta had never had any walls herself there was a show of fairness about them, though of course the situation of Sparta was such that she was far less exposed to an invader than Athens. The Athenians had no intention of accepting advice thus offered. Still they did not want to quarrel with Sparta. Happily Themistocles was at Athens, and ready as usual with a cunning plan. He offered to go to Sparta to talk over the matter in a friendly spirit. Two other Athenians were to join him later, but he set out at once and awaited their arrival at Sparta, where the people were always glad to welcome the hero of Salamis. Meantime the Athenians

but is check-
mated by
Themis-
tocles.

at home were hard at work on the walls. Women and even children lent a hand, and the building went on night and day. All the materials they could lay hold of were used, even fragments of the ruined temples and portions of grave-stones, no matter what, so long as it helped the pile to grow. Rumours of these works did not fail to reach Sparta, and complaint was made to Themistocles. He of course denied everything, and at last declared that, if they did not believe his word, they had better send to Athens and find out the facts for



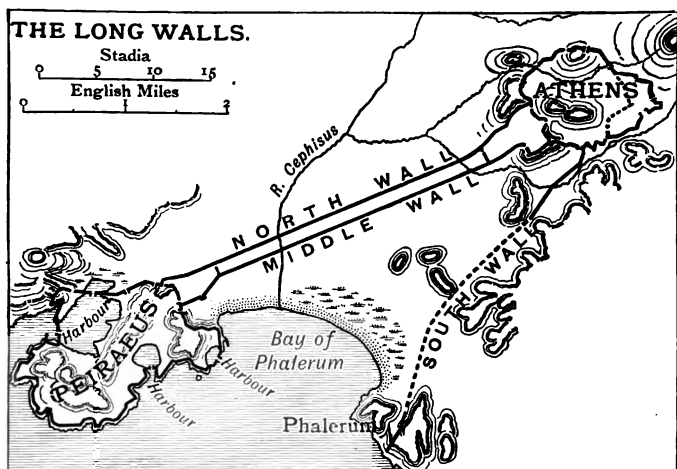
WALL OF PEIRÆUS.

themselves. At the same time he sent a message home, ordering the Spartan envoys to be detained till he should have got back safely. Hardly had the Spartans set out when his two colleagues arrived with the news that the walls had reached a fair height. Themistocles now openly confessed the trick by which he had gained time for the work. The day had gone by, he said, when Athens would take orders from Sparta. During the late wars the Athenians had shown that they were as good soldiers as the Spartans and far better counsellors; they had made up their minds to fortify their city, and there was an end of the matter. The Spartans gave in with the best grace they could, for they realised that there were now two powerful states in Greece, and that from this time forth Athens would claim to take rank with Sparta.

The new walls round Athens had a circuit of nearly seven miles; and the Acropolis, once the whole city, stood almost in the centre. The other hills, which had formerly been outside the walls, were now taken in, and the whole was rebuilt as a single city grouped round the old fortress rock. Another favourite scheme of Themistocles was now carried out. This was the fortification of the Peiraeus. Walls were carried all round the peninsula close to the sea, in such a way as to include the large natural harbour on the north, and the two smaller ones on the east. At the entrance to each harbour they put up high towers, and as the mouth was very narrow, these could be connected by chains, so that the whole was closed in. The wall, which enclosed a space as large as Athens itself, was built in this way. Stones were brought from opposite directions in carts, which were placed side by side and emptied their contents to right and left. In this way a space was left between the piles, and this was afterwards filled in with stones carefully shaped

The rebuilding of Athens and the Peiraeus.

and clamped together with metal, so that the whole when finished formed a solid wall fourteen or fifteen feet thick. It was very high too, perhaps as much as thirty feet, and yet it was only half the height originally intended. Themistocles meant it to be so strong that a very small garrison would be able to hold it, while the rest of the men could take to the ships, which must in future be the true defence of Athens. Some years later the city was further strengthened by two



long walls, one running to the Peiraeus, and the other to Phalerum, the old harbour. Afterwards a second wall to the Peiraeus was added parallel to the first. This gave Athens a fortified road to her two ports, so that she now had all the advantages of a maritime city. The aim of Themistocles was to make her a sea power, and therefore he did everything he could to encourage shipbuilding. The richest citizens now took it in turns to provide the triremes, or men-of-war. The state supplied the hull and some of

The Long Walls.

the rigging. But the trierarch, as they called the man who undertook this duty, had to fit and launch the galley, train the oarsmen, and himself sail with the ship, which he must give up in good repair at the end of his term of office.

While Athens was strengthening herself at home under the guidance of Themistocles, she was earning the right abroad to call herself mistress of the sea. After the battle of Mycale, the three large islands, Samos, Naxos and Lesbos, had come over to the Greek side, and the smaller islands and towns on the Ionian coast began to clamour for deliverance from Persia. What were the Greeks to do? It was useless to help the Ionians to revolt, if they meant to sail away afterwards, and leave them unprotected once more. The matter was discussed by the generals, and as usual the Spartans and Athenians took different sides. The Peloponnesians, who were always afraid of adding to their responsibilities, and cared little what happened elsewhere so long as their own peninsula was safe, proposed that the Asiatic Greeks should leave their homes and migrate in a body to Greece. The Boeotians and others who had sided with the enemy could be turned out of their lands as a punishment, and the faithful Ionians might take their place. This sounded an excellent plan, but naturally it did not please the people chiefly concerned. The Ionians had no wish to leave their homes and settle as strangers in another country. The Athenians, who had been twice obliged to leave their city, and were now looking forward to rebuilding it in security, were better able to sympathise, and they refused to forsake their Ionian kinsmen. The Spartans had to give way; and when the combined fleets left Lesbos they had given a pledge to deliver the Greeks in Asia as well as in Europe.

**Athens takes
the Ionians
under her
protection.**

First they sailed to the Hellespont, intending to

break down the bridge of boats. It had long ago been destroyed by a storm, but the Greeks did not know of this till they came to Abydos and found the bridge gone. Then the Peloponnesians, satisfied that the danger of invasion was really at an end, sailed away to attend to their own affairs at home, and left the Athenians to continue the war if they had a mind.

There was still plenty to do, for even in Europe the Great King still had possessions. At Sestos, which lay just opposite Abydos on the European side of the strait, several Persian garrisons from different Thracian cities had collected, in order to take joint action in case of an attack. Thither the Athenians sailed under Xanthippus, and began to blockade the city, and, as the supply of provisions ran short, it had at last to surrender after a brave defence. Spring was already at hand when the Athenians returned home in triumph and hung up the cables of the broken bridges as a thankoffering in the temple of Athena.

The capture of Sestos was only a beginning. Next summer greater things were to be accomplished, and this time the Spartans agreed to join the expedition. The Peloponnesians sent twenty ships under Pausanias, the victor of Plataea, but the Athenians alone furnished thirty, and their new allies sent some more. After taking a few places in Cyprus they sailed to Byzantium (now Constantinople), which was the key to the Bosphorus as Sestos was to the Hellespont. (See map p. 243.) After a long siege they took it, and now a change seemed to take place in Pausanias. Ever since his great success at Plataea he had been growing proud and overbearing, boasting of his achievements as though all the credit belonged to him alone; and although he had pretended to despise the display and

Capture of
Sestos, 478
B.C.,

and
Byzantium,
477 B.C.

Change in
Pausanias.

luxury of the Persians, he had kept a large share of the booty for himself, and was living in a style very far removed from Spartan simplicity. Eastern gold had changed his character and transformed a patriot into a traitor. Soon after the capture of Byzantium it turned out that some of the most important prisoners were missing. This was the doing of Pausanias, who had not only helped their escape, but actually sent them back to Xerxes with a letter in which he offered to subdue the whole of Greece for Persia if the King would give him his daughter in marriage. Xerxes returned a friendly answer. He said nothing about his daughter, but he thanked Pausanias very warmly and bade him carry out his plans, and spare no cost, whether of gold or silver or numbers of men, since all he asked for should be supplied. This answer quite turned Pausanias' head; and instead of working away quietly at his plans, and keeping them as secret as possible, he suddenly changed his whole manner of living. He put on Persian dress and surrounded himself with a bodyguard of Medes and Egyptians. Worse still, he behaved so insolently to the other generals that they would no longer put up with it, and the allies begged Aristides, who commanded the Athenians, to take charge of the whole fleet. Meantime the strange conduct of Pausanias had been reported at Sparta, and he was recalled to answer for it. In his place they sent out another general, Dorcis, with a few ships; but when he arrived there was no command to take over, for it had been transferred by the allies to Aristides and the Athenians. This was the end of Spartan supremacy at sea, which had in fact only lasted so long through the courtesy and forbearance of the Athenians. The new allies needed a sea power as their head, and were only too glad to range themselves with Athens against

He is recalled to Sparta.

Persia. They arranged to form a league, whose aim should be to complete and maintain the liberation of Asiatic Greece.

This League is known as the Confederacy of Delos, because its meetings were held in that island, and the common treasure was kept in the temple there. Delos was conveniently situated for all the sea states and was under the special protection of Apollo. Here, according to the old legends, the god was born, and once it had been his chief sanctuary. As Delphi rose in influence Delos fell into neglect, until Peisistratus purified

Athens
organises the
Confederacy
of Delos, 477
B.C.



Head of Athena.



Owl, *Athe(ne)*.

COIN OF ATHENS (EARLY FIFTH CENTURY).

the precincts of the temple and revived the ancient festival. Now the new League was to restore its importance and make it a rival to Delphi with its league of Amphictions.

Since the aim of the union was the protection of its members and the deliverance of all Hellenes from the Persian yoke, both money and ships were needed for carrying out the work. It was decided to levy contributions from all the members, and happily it was to Aristides the Just that the duty fell of deciding how much each should give. The states were divided into two classes, according as they supplied ships or money to the common fund, and all were to send delegates to

Delos to the meetings of the assembly which settled the League's business. The confederacy was under the protection of Athens, which had to see that the decrees were carried out and collect all the contributions. For this purpose special officers were appointed, called Hellenic Stewards, who sailed round the Aegean every spring and brought back the payments. The members of the League swore to stand by one another, and threw lumps of iron into the sea as a token that they would not prove false to their oath until the iron should rise to the surface of the water. The new League continued the work begun under Pausanias. Its first object was to expel the Persian garrisons from the cities of Thrace. The fleet was commanded by Cimon, son of Miltiades. After many long and tedious campaigns he succeeded in driving out the Persians, who had been in possession for more than forty years. As each city was set free it became in its turn a member of the League, and so this continued to become larger and stronger, and with it grew the power and influence of Athens.

When Pausanias had been deprived of his command and recalled to Sparta, he was tried on a charge of treachery. Since no certain proofs were forthcoming he was acquitted, but forbidden to hold any public office. As he was far too ambitious to lead the life of a private citizen, he returned to the East with one ship on pretence of helping the Greeks. He managed to enter Byzantium and to take Sestos, and he got so much power through the help of the Persians that the Athenians were forced to attack him and drive him out of both places. Rumours of these proceedings reached Sparta, and he was recalled a second time. He was thrown into prison and tried, but though every one was sure of his guilt, it was impossible to prove it. What they most feared was his

The sad end
of Pausanias

plotting with the helots, for it was whispered that he had promised them their liberty and that in return they were to make him king. At last one of his own slaves turned informer. Pausanias had given him a despatch to take to Asia, and the man, who had noticed that none of the messengers sent on this errand ever returned, broke open the letter and found that it contained directions to kill the messenger. Thereupon he carried it to the ephors, who found in it all the missing proofs of his treachery. Still this was not enough to convict him, for they had only the slave's word to go upon, and he might have forged the letter. They therefore devised a plot for discovering the truth. The servant was to fly as for his life and take refuge in a hut near the temple of Poseidon. Here the ephors concealed themselves in one room where they could hear through the wall all that was said in the next. As they had expected, Pausanias followed the slave and took him to task for thus running away instead of carrying out his master's orders. What passed between them was sufficient to establish the guilt of Pausanias, and they took steps to have him arrested. As soon as he found that his secret was known he fled to the temple of Athena of the Brazen House, and took shelter in a small covered building next to the shrine. Even here in the precincts of the goddess vengeance overtook him. The ephors had the doorway built up, and left him there to starve. Only when he was at the point of death they dragged him out, lest his corpse should profane the sacred place.

Thus miserably perished the victor of Plataea, a victim of his own avarice and ambition. Almost as sad a fate was in store for the victor of Salamis. Themistocles had won a prouder position than any Greek before him. Four years after the great sea fight, when the Olympic Games were cele-

Themis-
tocles.

brated with unusual splendour in honour of the liberation of Greece, he won the triumph he most dearly prized. When the great general entered the ring the champions were forgotten, the contests passed unheeded; that day the Greeks had eyes for none but Themistocles. Five years later he was in exile.

Many causes had helped to bring about this great change. The rivalry between Themistocles and Aristides, which had slumbered during the foreign invasion, had now broken out afresh. Aristides had won great credit by the organisation of the Delian League, as well as by his incorruptible honesty. Themistocles had done the state even greater service by the stimulus he had given to the navy, and by his scheme for the fortification of Athens. But, unfortunately for his own happiness, he loved both money and glory too well. Like Pausanias he could not refrain from boasting of his achievements; like Pausanias he loved riches, and was suspected of getting them dishonestly. During an expedition to the Greek Islands he had acted in the most arbitrary manner, putting many persons to death untried, and giving all the power to his personal friends. Such overbearing actions were not tolerated by the Greeks even in their greatest generals. A mortal who acted in this way usurped the privileges of the gods, and sooner or later Zeus would punish his insolence. Gradually the popularity of the favourite general began to wane; once more an ostracism was demanded, and this time it was Themistocles on whom the lot of exile fell.

First of all he went to Argos. The Spartans, who looked on him as a dangerous and cunning enemy, thought him too near for safety; they therefore began to plot against him, declaring that he had a share in the treachery of Pausanias. They even sent to Athens to urge that he should be tried before a general

assembly of allies as a traitor to his country. Themistocles did not wait to stand his trial, but fled across the sea. For many years he wandered from place to place. No Greek state cared to shelter him, and at last, after a long series of adventures, he found himself at Susa. Here he addressed this letter to King Artaxerxes, who had succeeded his father Xerxes: "I, Themistocles, have come unto you, who have done your house more harm than any other Greek as long as I was compelled in my own defence to resist your father. Yet I also rendered him even greater benefits when I was in safety and his retreat was endangered. A reward is still owing to me, and now I am here with power to render you great services; but driven out by the Greeks because of my friendship for you. I desire to wait a year and then myself declare to you the reason of my coming."

He goes to
Persia.

Artaxerxes welcomed Themistocles gladly, and by the end of the year he had learnt enough Persian to speak without an interpreter. The King treated him with every honour, as a friend and favourite rather than an enemy. He appointed him governor of the district of Magnesia, and gave him three cities, whose revenues, as was the Persian custom, were to supply him with bread, meat and wine. He married a Persian wife, and settled down to a luxurious and inglorious existence. The Magnesians held him in honour, and when he died at a very advanced age they gave him the tomb his own country refused him.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE WARS OF ATHENS IN THE EAST.

It was sad that Themistocles should die in exile, after all he had done for the safety and glory of his country. Yet this was no uncommon fate for great men in Greece. At Athens especially the people often grew jealous of a very popular citizen, and were afraid that he might follow the example of Peisistratus, and use the goodwill of the people to make himself tyrant. Indeed it was not unusual for Greeks to be spoilt by success, as had happened to Pausanias. Besides all this they were not a very grateful people, and easily forgot their greatest benefactors when no longer in need of them. Nearly all the most celebrated Athenians spent some part of their life in exile.

It was fortunate for Athens that at this moment she was so rich in statesmen and generals that Themistocles was hardly missed. The chief command now fell to Cimon. He was the son of Miltiades, who had won so much glory at Marathon, but unfortunately injured his reputation afterwards by a treacherous expedition against the island of Paros. Miltiades was tried and condemned to pay a fine, but he died immediately afterwards from the effects of a wound. Cimon paid the money with his sister's help, in order to clear his father's memory. This showed his honourable disposition, and Plutarch, who admires him greatly, says that "in courage he was not inferior to

The fate
of Greek
statesmen.

Cimon.

Miltiades nor in prudence to Themistocles, and he was confessedly an honest man than either of them". When the Athenians were forced to leave their city before the battle of Salamis, Cimon stood by Themistocles, and encouraged the people to put their trust in the ships. He went up to the Acropolis with a party of friends, and solemnly dedicated his horse's bridle to the goddess Athena. By this he meant to show that in future Athens must rely on her fleet rather than on her cavalry. Cimon's courage and honesty won the approval of Aristides, who handed over the command of the fleet to him after the formation of the Delian League. It was he who drove Pausanias out of Sestos and Byzantium, and afterwards he attacked a pirate stronghold at Scyros and took possession of the whole island. This was a fortunate capture, for Scyros contained a treasure of the greatest value to Athens. Here, according to an old tale, Theseus had been treacherously slain, and here his bones had been laid, far away from Attica. But even in the realm of the dead Theseus had not forgotten his beloved Athens. At Marathon, men were assured, it was he who had led his countrymen to victory, and after the Persian invasion an oracle had bidden them bring back his corpse to Athens and build a noble tomb in his honour. Cimon was now in a position to obey the oracle. He sent men over the whole island to seek for the grave of Theseus. At last he was himself led to the spot by the flight of an eagle. After digging for some time a huge coffin appeared, and it was proved to contain the bones of a man with a sword and spear at his side. It was brought in triumph to Greece, and carried in solemn procession to Athens. Magnificent funeral rites were held, and a temple was built to celebrate the hero's return. All Athens made holiday, and great festivities marked the occasion. It was the custom during the festival of

The bones of
Theseus are
brought to
Attica.

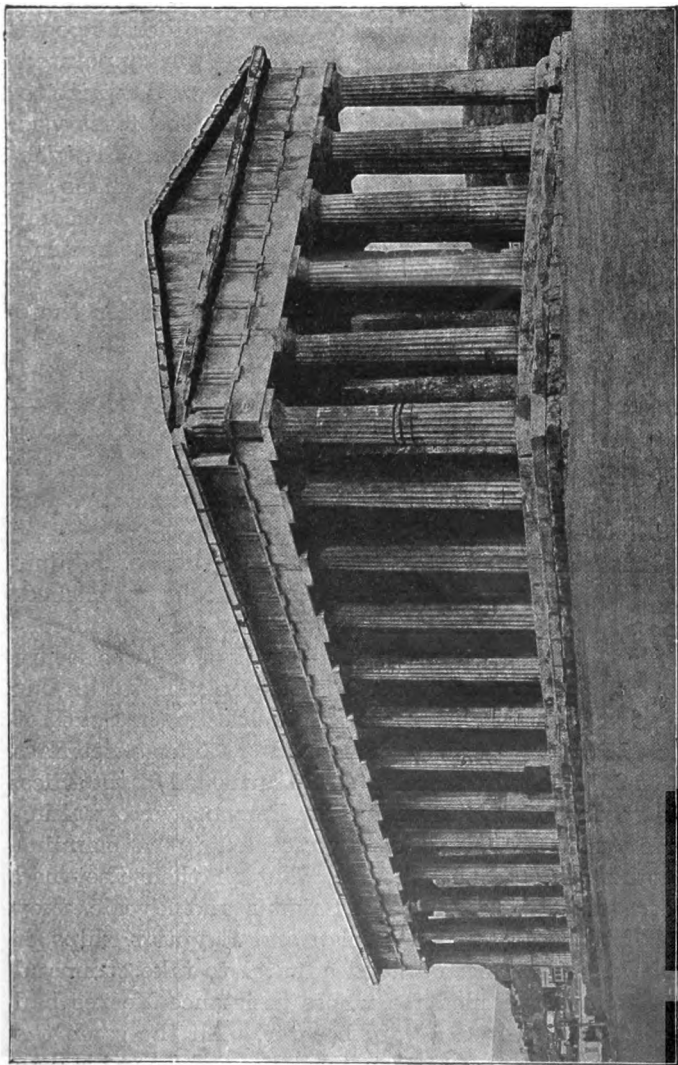


Photo. : S. C. Atchley, Athens.

THE TEMPLE OF THESEUS AT ATHENS.

Dionysos to perform tragedies in the theatre dedicated to the wine-god. A number of plays by different poets were acted one after another, and judges were appointed for the occasion whose duty it was to award a prize to the one they thought best. This year the feast was celebrated with unusual splendour, and Aeschylus, who was already famous and had pleased the Athenians by his great tragedy "The Persians," was one of the competitors. Another was Sophocles, who was competing for the first time with a play called "Triptolemos". It was no easy matter to choose between them, for these were two of the greatest poets the world has ever known. It was the Archon's business to choose the judges by drawing lots—a favourite plan at Athens—but this time he wished to pay a special compliment to Cimon and the other generals, and therefore invited them to act as judges. They accepted the duty, and allotted the prize to Sophocles.

Cimon had won glory both at home and abroad, but his work in the East was by no means finished. Cimon returns to the East. His own desire was to return there and continue the war until all Greeks should be secure against the attacks of Persia. The Aegean was all but clear of the enemy, but the Greek cities in the South of Asia Minor were still in their hands. Cimon sailed East with 200 Athenian vessels and 100 furnished by the allies. He needed a large force, for the Persians were making great preparations, and they seemed to be planning another invasion of Greece. Though their fleet had been terribly weakened at Salamis and Mycale, they still had plenty of Phoenician and Egyptian ships, if only there had been a good admiral to take command of them. Pausanias, for whose assistance Xerxes had hoped, had proved a vain boaster. All the same the King was fully prepared to meet the Greeks in his own waters. The ships and land forces were brought to-

gether in Pamphylia at the mouth of the river Eury-medon. (See map p. 254.) As soon as Cimon learned this he set sail, and found the Persian fleet close in shore not caring to venture far from the protection



Photo. : Alinari Bros., Florence.

SOPHOCLES

(Lateran Museum, Rome.)

of the troops, as they were still waiting for reinforcements. Cimon at once gave the signal for attack, and the Persians, instead of awaiting the onset, deserted their ships and went on shore. The Greeks followed

them, and the Persians seeing this turned and made a stand. The Greeks shouted the war-cry, and rushed upon them. The Persians now stood their ground, and a hand-to-hand fight began.

Battle of the Eurymedon.

This lasted a long time, and great numbers were killed on both sides; but at last the King's troops were put to flight, leaving as usual a great deal of rich booty for the victors. Cimon had beaten the Persians both by sea and land, but even now he must not allow his soldiers to rest. The Phoenician ships which were expected could not be far away, and the safest plan was to find and defeat them before they even suspected his presence. His plan was successful, and he won a third victory on the same day. No other Greek general had performed so great a feat, and Cimon had won the right to be ranked with Miltiades and Themistocles. He now returned home laden with treasure, which was spent on the fortification of the Acropolis and the foundations of the long walls.

When Cimon returned to Athens after the battle of the Eurymedon, people looked on him as the first man in the city. Aristeides had died two years before; Themistocles was in exile.

Cimon's popularity

Cimon's success as a general gave people confidence in him, and they were ready to fall in with his ideas. His wish was to continue the policy of Aristeides, whom he looked upon as his model. He became the leader of the conservative party that wished to keep on friendly terms with Sparta, while the opposite party thought that Athens was strong enough to lead Greece both by sea and land. Very soon the people had to decide between the two.

Earthquake at Sparta.

As Athens had been gradually growing stronger, she was jealously watched by the Peloponnesians, but they were unable to interfere with her, because they were too much occu-

pied with troubles of their own. A terrible calamity had befallen Sparta. Severe shocks of earthquake were felt throughout Laconia. The ground was cleft asunder, masses of rock fell from the mountains, and in the city only five houses escaped injury. Such an event would have been alarming anywhere, but in Sparta it was doubly dangerous, for the helots who were only kept down by force were always on the watch for a chance of revolting. As soon as they heard of the earthquake and the confusion in the city, they came flocking in from all sides, intending to fall upon the panic-stricken citizens. Happily Archidamus the king, fearing this might happen, had ordered the alarm to sound without delay. Obedient to the summons the Spartans deserted their tottering houses, seized any weapons they could lay hands on and ranged themselves in fighting order. Thus they managed to repel the first attack, but they could not prevent a general rising. The Messenians, who formed a large portion of the helots, had not forgotten their past history. They knew that once their ancestors had been a free people, and had held out for many years under Aristodemus on the fortress of Ithome. To this same hill they now withdrew after a defeat in the open field, and again Ithome proved capable of warding off attack. The siege went on for a long time, and at last the Spartans, whose army was greatly weakened by the loss of the helots, were forced to ask their allies for help. They even sent to the Athenians, who had more experience of sieges and might be able to capture Ithome.

Revolt of the
Helots.

It was one of the proudest moments in the history of Athens when her great rival came before her as a suppliant; and no doubt there were many who remembered how little friendliness Sparta had shown when they had sent to her on a

Athens sends
help to
Sparta.

similar errand. Indeed one party was for refusing altogether, thinking that the weakness of Sparta was the opportunity of Athens. The other party, with Cimon at its head, insisted that the prosperity of Sparta was necessary for the welfare of Greece. "We must not leave Hellas lame," he said, "nor let Athens lose her yoke-fellow." Cimon's influence was then at its height, and his words prevailed. He himself went to Messenia with 4,000 men; but his appearance brought no sudden success. The Spartans were disappointed, and began to suspect treachery. They knew that at the very moment when the earthquake came to stop them, they were planning an invasion of Attica on behalf of some of her revolted allies. Treacherous themselves, they suspected treachery in others. Might not the Athenians be in secret league with the Messenians? Suddenly, without any notice, the Athenian troops were dismissed, while the other allies were asked to remain. This was a grievous insult to Athens, and she naturally vented her anger on the man

**Her troops
are sent
back.**

**Ostracism of
Cimon.**

who had advised this unlucky expedition. Cimon returned to find his popularity gone, the opposite party in power, and several changes which he had steadily opposed already established. He was accused of favouring Sparta unduly. An ostracism was called for, and there was no difficulty in securing a sufficient number of votes against Cimon.

Even this did not satisfy the Athenians. They had been insulted, and they meant Sparta to suffer for it. After a five years' siege Ithome had at last surrendered. Obedient to the commands of an oracle, the Spartans had allowed the Messenians to leave the Peloponnesus uninjured, on condition that they were never to return. The Athenians offered the fugitives a home at Naupectus, a port on the Gulf of Corinth, which they had

recently captured. It was useful for the Athenians to have friendly allies at the entrance to the gulf, and at the same time it was an annoyance to the Corinthians, who were allies of Sparta and unfriendly to Athens.

Cimon's exile hastened the breach with Sparta. Athens now let Sparta fend for herself, and made an alliance with Argos and Thes-
Alliance
between
Attica and
Megara.
 sally, two states that had shown but little patriotism during the Persian Wars. Now there was nothing to fear from the Great King Athens thought only of strengthening her own position. Her quarrel with Corinth led to an alliance with Megara, with whom she was usually on bad terms. Troops were sent to help her against Corinth, and her two ports were garrisoned by Athenian soldiers. One of these, Nisaea, was connected with the town by long parallel walls, for which the Athenians supplied the materials and labour. They served to protect Athens as well as Megara, for the port gave her command of the city, and enabled her to keep enemies from the other side of the isthmus from passing through Megarian territory into Attica.

Athens was next engaged in a war with her enemy Aegina, who was helped by Corinth. In
War of
Athens with
Aegina and
Corinth.
 a sea-fight the Athenians were victorious, and took seventy of the enemy's ships. They then landed on the island and laid siege to the city. After a long blockade they took it, and forced Aegina to join the Delian League. About the same time they defeated the Boeotians, and all their towns except Thebes joined the League.

Athens was now the chief state in Greece, for her influence in the North was as great as that of Sparta had ever been in the South; her
The allies of
Athens.
 alliance with Argos gave her a footing in the Peloponnesus, and through the Messenians at

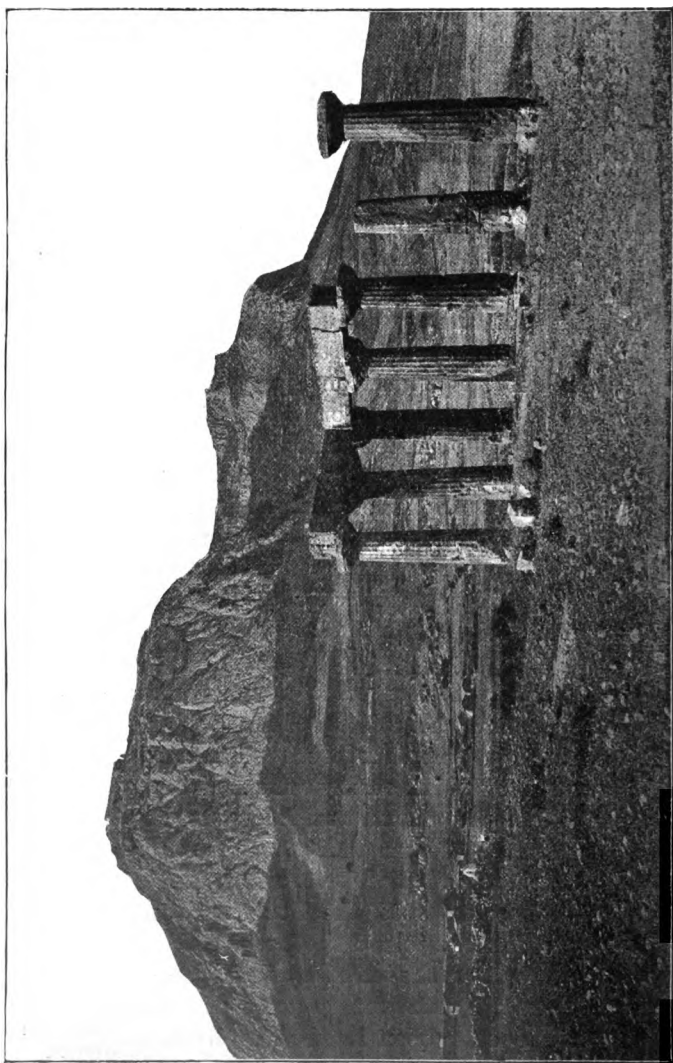


Photo. : S. C. Atchley, Athens.

CORINTH : CITADEL AND TEMPLE OF ATHENA.

Naupactus she could control the gulf and defy Corinth. More important even than her possessions on the mainland was her dominion over the islands and cities of the Aegean. At first they had joined her of their own free will, because Athens alone could protect them against Persia. Now and then a place that did not care to join the League was compelled to do so by force, and some members wished to withdraw when the danger from Persia was over. The first to break away was the island of Naxos, one of the most important members. It had held out against Persia longer than any other place, and was the first to throw off the foreign yoke after Mycale. Now it wanted to be independent of friend as well as foe, but the other members of the League would not consent. Naxos was blockaded and had to surrender, and from this time forth became a subject of Athens instead of a free ally. After a while another island, Thasos, revolted, and applied to Sparta for help, but she was occupied just then with the earthquake and other troubles, and could do nothing, so Thasos too was taken and made subject to Athens. The same thing happened at other places, and at last there were only three, Chios, Lesbos and Samos, that sent their own ships; all the rest sent money and soldiers and had to put themselves under the command of Athens. When the League had been about twenty-five years in existence it was proposed by Samos, perhaps at the suggestion of the Athenians, that the treasure of the League should be removed from Delos to Athens. This was done, and now the power of Athens over the other states became absolute. What had once been a League was now an Empire. It lasted but a few years, but they were the most splendid and memorable in the annals of Greece,

The League
removes from
Delos to
Athens, 454
B.C.

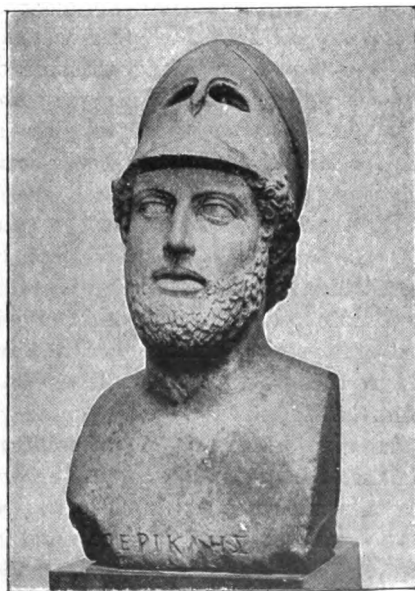
CHAPTER XIV.

THE GLORIOUS DAYS OF ATHENS.

The greatness of Athens. **ATHENS** was now at the height of her power. It may seem strange to us that a little piece of Northern Greece, with the partial control of the Eastern Mediterranean, could once be called a great empire; yet such it really was in those days of sailing and rowing boats, of riding and driving, when it took longer to send news from Athens to Sparta than it does now to send a message from London to Melbourne. Steam and electricity, by spreading news and carrying travellers so quickly, have really made the world smaller, for it is time rather than distance that separates people from one another; and the thoughts and aims of the men who controlled Athens were as wide and far-reaching as those of our British statesmen, who guide the destinies of an empire on which the sun never sets.

Pericles. It might have been well for Greece if Athens could have become the capital of the whole country, and that no doubt was the ambition of Pericles, the great statesman who now took the lead there. He was the son of Xanthippus, who had led the Greeks at Mycale, and of Agarista, niece of Cleisthenes the reformer. Belonging to a rich and noble family, a good soldier and eloquent speaker, he was just the man to win popularity at Athens, but he seems to have shunned rather than courted it. He seldom showed himself in the market or other public places,

and rarely attended the supper-parties which most Athenians so greatly enjoyed. He was deeply interested in philosophy, but his great desire was to be a statesman, and guide Athens to the foremost place in Greece, which he considered her due. From the first he attached himself to the party of the people, which



PERICLES.
(British Museum.)

was opposed to Cimon and the policy of friendship with Sparta. The failure at Ithome had caused feeling at Athens to change, and Ephialtes, who then led the popular party, took advantage of Cimon's absence to introduce some changes at Athens. Pericles helped him in this, and after his death in 461 became head of the party.

The first popular measure they introduced was a change in the Court of Areopagus. This was composed solely of persons who had already served as archons, and these had always been appointed from the two richest classes. Naturally it would be the older and richer citizens who filled these posts, and they would incline to more conservative views than younger and poorer men. In order to weaken this influence in the state, the Areopagus was now deprived of some of its most important powers. It lost the right of punishing ministers and officers who broke the law, as well as its function of seeing that the laws were obeyed, and the right of inquiry into the private life of Athenians. In fact it lost nearly all its duties except the care of the sacred olive trees and the trial of murder cases, which was supposed to have belonged to it ever since Orestes was tried there. The other powers were divided among the Council, the Assembly and the Law Courts, so that they passed from the hands of a few to the great mass of the people. A change was also made in the appointment of archons, for the office was thrown open to members of the third class too, and in certain cases an archon might even be chosen from the fourth class.

Changes at Athens:

(1) The Areopagus;

(2) The Archons;

(3) The Law Courts.

A curious feature of life at Athens was the frequency of lawsuits, and the pleasure the citizens took in attending the courts. These were now even more frequent, since Athens had become the head of the Delian League, and had to settle most of the quarrels of the subjects and allies as well as her own. Therefore there was a great deal of law business to be transacted at Athens. The jurymen were chosen by lot, and at first had to give their time without any fee. For this service Pericles introduced pay; a very

small sum, not quite twopence a day, was given, but it was enough to make up to the poorest citizens for the loss of their time, and some of the lazy ones were glad to hang about in the courts waiting for a job instead of going out to do a regular day's work.

All these measures were intended to strengthen the power of the people, for Pericles realised that they would be more disposed than the aristocrats, who favoured Sparta, to support his plans for the greatness of Athens. He longed to see her at the head of a united Greece, with one religion, one language, and one long tradition of ancient glory. It was a dream only, and Pericles was to have a rude awakening.

For ten years Athens had had a career of almost uninterrupted success; then fortune began to fail her. Perhaps she had been too ambitious, for, not content with fighting Greeks **Athenian expedition to Egypt.** at home and Persians in the Aegean, she had actually sent an army to the distant shores of Egypt, which since the time of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, had been part of the Persian empire. The King was occupied putting down insurrections in the eastern part of his vast kingdom, and the Egyptians profited by this to revolt. They drove out the Persian satrap, and made Inaros, a Libyan, master of the country. An army was sent to subdue the rebellion, and troops must be raised to resist it. Inaros was not strong enough to face the Persians unaided, and he therefore sent to Athens, the hereditary enemy of Persia, to ask for help. The Athenians were growing accustomed to such requests, but they had hitherto come from men of Greek race. It was a new thing to receive a call from aliens, dwellers by that wonderful river Nile, which had always been to the Greeks a world of wonder and mystery. For a seaport town with a growing trade the chance of making a settlement at the very mouth of the Nile was an en-

ticing one, and the scheme was fated to be carried out, though not then, nor by the Athenians. More than a century afterwards Alexander, the great Macedonian conqueror, laid the foundations of Alexandria, the first Greek city in Egypt.

When the Egyptian invitation was brought to Athens, the Greek fleet was again at Cyprus, which still remained unconquered. It seemed a good opportunity for attacking the Persians at a fresh place, and becoming invaders in their turn. Orders were sent to move southward and sail up the Nile. The Greeks arrived at a fortunate moment, for Inaros had just won a great victory in the Delta. The Athenians took Memphis, all but the citadel, which they had to blockade. It held out for more than two years, and thus gave the enemy time to collect a second and stronger army as well as a Phoenician fleet. The luck now turned. The Persian general defeated the rebels, drove the Greeks out of Memphis, and shut them up in an island formed by two branches of the river joined by a canal. Here they were blockaded for eighteen months, but refused to surrender. At last the besiegers turned aside the water of the canal, and were able to march across to the island. The ships were now useless, and lest they should fall into the enemy's hands, the Greeks burned them. Inaros with six thousand Greeks escaped to Byblos in the Delta, where they at last surrendered on condition that their lives should be spared. The Athenians were allowed to return home, but as they had no ships they marched westward to Cyrene, a Greek city on the north coast of Africa, and sailed thence to Greece; and so a few survivors of the large force that had gone out seven years before came home at last. Unfortunately a squadron of fifty triremes had been sent to reinforce them, and knowing nothing of the surrender had sailed up one of the arms

Its unfor-
tunate end.

of the Nile. They were attacked by sea and land, and nearly all destroyed.

This expedition was most disastrous to Athens, for it showed that her arms would not always carry her to victory. She was really attempting too much, for while this large army was engaged in Egypt, several little wars were going on in Greece. The successes in Boeotia and Aegina had encouraged the Athenians, and expeditions were sent out against some of the Peloponnesians in the west. Little came of these, except that Achaea in the north of the Peloponnesus came over to the Athenian alliance. In spite of a few small successes Athens was sorely in need of peace. Happily Cimon, the staunch supporter of Greek unity, was once more at Athens, and helped to arrange a five years' truce with Sparta.

The many wars of Athens.

A treaty of peace would have been better, but both sides knew that a lasting friendship between these two rival states was impossible. Sparta also concluded a thirty years' truce with Argos, who was beginning to repent of the alliance with Athens. Both parties observed it faithfully, and for thirty years there was no outbreak of hostilities between Sparta and Argos.

Five years' truce between Athens and Sparta, 451 B.C.

Cimon's return to Athens was the signal for fresh wars in the East, for that brave general cared only to fight foreign foes, and would not hear of peace with Persia as long as a single Greek city owned the King's sway. In the year 449, just thirty years after the battle of Plataea, Cimon set sail for Cyprus with two hundred Athenian and allied vessels, and found a Persian fleet already there. Sixty ships were sent to the aid of a little prince who was still defying the Persians in the Delta; with the rest he laid siege to Cition, a town on the

Cimon returns to the East

coast of Cyprus. There Cimon fell ill, and shortly afterwards died. His last orders were to raise the siege, and retire without letting his death be known. However a Phoenician fleet was close by, and it proved impossible to avoid a battle. The fleets met off Salamis, a Greek colony, which Teucer, brother of Ajax, was thought to have founded when his father exiled him from the old Salamis after his return from Troy. It was a name of good omen for Athens, and here too victory was hers. It was like the Eurymedon over again. The Persians were defeated twice, first by sea, then on land. But the Greeks had no heart to follow up the victory. Their general was dead, and with him the keen hatred of Persia. The fleet left Cyprus and sailed homeward with the body of Cimon, and Athens went out to meet him on his last triumphant return, and gave him worthy funeral honours. Cimon was the last of the heroes of the Persian Wars, and there was no one to enter into his inheritance. This battle at Cyprus had inclined the Great King to peace, and Athens could no longer bear the constant strain of wars abroad and at home.

Athenian victory at sea. Both parties were ready for peace, and it was made at last. Each side had to make some concession. Persia was to send no war-ships into the Aegean, and Athens must keep her fleet out of Persian waters. The Greeks in Asia were to be independent, and the Athenians undertook not to attack any country ruled over by the Great King.

Peace with Persia, 448 B.C.

Thus ended a war that had lasted nearly fifty years. No doubt the end was a boon for Greece, but in one way the Athenians were losers. When there was no Persian enemy to fight against the work of the Delian League was done, and there was no longer any excuse for levying the tribute

Revolts in the Delian League, 447 B.C.

money. As the danger from Persia grew less there had been a strong disposition to leave the League. Now the peace was followed by a series of revolts. First Athens lost Boeotia. She had only been able to keep it by changing the government in the chief cities, and establishing a democracy, or rule of the people, like that of Athens, instead of an oligarchy, or rule of the few. But in each town there was a party which did not like the change, and after a while this got the upper hand again, and threw off the allegiance of Athens.

This revolt was the signal for others. Phocis followed next in restoring the oligarchy and abandoning the Athenian alliance. What was far worse, Euboea, one of the earliest members of the League, revolted too. Pericles set out himself with an army to put down the rebellion, but hardly had he reached the island when serious news followed him. The Athenian garrison at Megara had been murdered, and a Peloponnesian army was on its way to invade Attica. Without a moment's delay Pericles left Euboea and hurried back to Attica. His only chance was to join forces with Andocides, who had been sent to Megara, but the Peloponnesians were already between them, and commanded the road along the east coast. Andocides could only reach Attica by passing through Boeotia, which was now hostile. However, he was led back in safety by a Megarian who knew all the roads, and when once the armies had joined forces in Attica the danger was past. The Spartan king retired without striking a blow, as Cleomenes had done sixty years before, when he came to restore Hippias. His departure was so sudden that some people believed he had been bribed by Pericles; and perhaps they were right, for the Spartans who were forced to live simply at home really cared more for money than any other Greeks, and would often commit dis-

Euboea
revolts, 446
B.C.

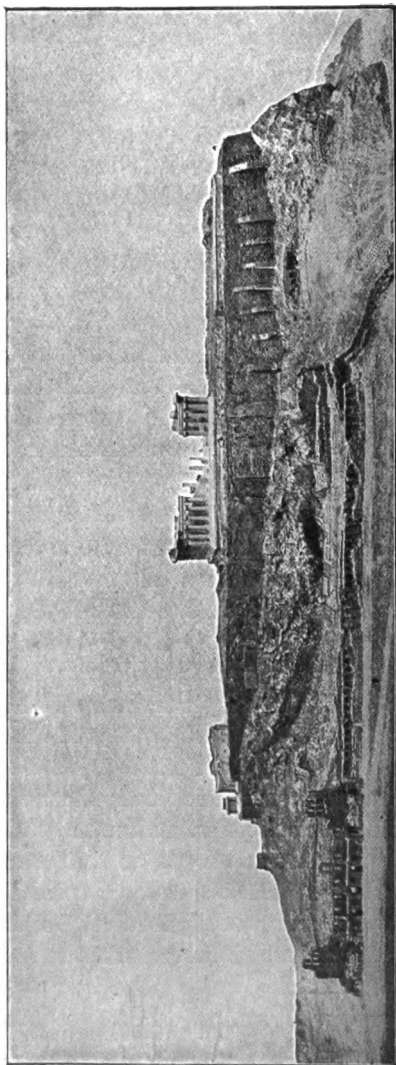
Athens loses
Megara.

honourable actions in order to get it. However that may be, the Peloponnesians retired, and Pericles was free to return to Euboea. With a force of fifty triremes and fifty thousand infantry he soon reduced the island to submission, and he made certain changes in the government to prevent any future rebellion. Though Euboea was saved Megara was hopelessly lost, but Athens still held the two ports.

The five years' truce was now at an end, but as neither side was ready for war, a fresh truce was concluded for thirty years on the following conditions: Athens was to recognise Sparta as the supreme power in the Peloponnesus, and in return Sparta undertook not to interfere with the Delian League. They were not to molest each other's allies, but any city that belonged to neither alliance might join whichever it pleased. Athens was to give up Nisaea and all her possessions in the Peloponnesus. Aegina was to remain independent, but to pay a contribution to the Athenian alliance. If any dispute should arise it was to be settled by arbitration. The terms of the treaty were engraved on stone and set up at Athens and in the shrine of Apollo at Amyclae. A bronze copy was erected at Olympia.

Just before the loss of Boeotia and the turn in the fortunes of Athens, Pericles had invited the Greek states to send delegates to a congress of all the Hellenes. Now that the Persian war was really over, he proposed that they should join in restoring the temples which the invaders had destroyed, dedicating gifts to the gods in return for the great deliverance, and combining to clear the seas of pirates. This invitation was sent to all the cities of the mainland and the members of the Delian League. It was declined by Sparta and the other Peloponnesian

cities, for to accept would have seemed an acknowledgment that Athens was to take the lead in Greece. Nothing came of the proposal; and as war with Boeotia and other places broke out almost directly, Athens was obliged to postpone her own part in these great schemes. Now at last the Thirty Years' Truce gave her a chance of showing that in these long years of trial and struggle she had learnt the arts of peace as well as of war. Grievous as had been the destruction of Athens, it had given her a chance such as falls to few towns of building everything afresh, and this just at a time when Athenian sculpture and architecture had reached their greatest perfection. It was a more beautiful as well as a newer Athens that arose on the ruins of the old. Walls and houses had been the first necessity, but the debt to the gods had not been forgotten. Cimon had spent his share of the Persian booty on great works for the city; he had fortified one side of the Acropolis, and near the market-place he had built pleasant halls filled with beautiful pictures, where people might shelter from rain or heat. In several places he had planted avenues of trees, and done all he could to make Athens a pleasant as well as a beautiful place. It now fell to Pericles to continue the work of Cimon, and he was fortunate in finding a helper with the genius to understand and carry out his plans. This was Pheidias, himself an Athenian, though he had studied under masters at Argos, at that time the chief art school in Greece. He had made a splendid group of statues for the Athenians to dedicate at Delphi out of the spoils of Marathon, and an image of Athena to stand on the Acropolis. Pericles, who now had the complete direction of affairs at Athens, in-
The
Acropolis.
vited Pheidias to take charge of the work on the Acropolis; for the old rock was in future to be a sanctuary rather than a fortress, and the whole was to



THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.
(From the Model in the British Museum.)

be sacred to their own patron goddess. Athena was now the lady of the treasure-house, as well as the protectress of Athens, and might claim her share of Delian tribute in return for her divine protection. In twenty years the appearance of the hill was transformed. The whole of the narrow west side was occupied by a magnificent portico, which served as an approach to the sacred place. A splendid flight of marble steps led to an archway, and so to a double colonnade, and through a second archway to the platform of the Acropolis. On either side of the main passage were projecting wings which opened with smaller rows of columns on to the main central staircase. One of these wings contained pictures by Polygnotus, a great painter, who had painted the battle of Marathon for the Porch of Cimon. After passing through this gateway the road led past the great statue of Athena Promachos (the First in Fight), which Pheidias had made for Cimon. It was over sixty feet high, and showed the goddess clad in full armour with shield and spear. The golden plume of her helmet and the tip of her spear could be seen far out at sea when they caught the sun's rays, and were the first signs of home to the returning traveller. The main platform of the rock was occupied with two temples of Athena. The old temple, where she and Poseidon were worshipped side by side, had been hastily rebuilt soon after the return to Athens, and still held within its precincts the sacred well and the olive. For the present it was left unchanged, for Pericles wanted to build another and more splendid one in honour of the great queen of the Delian League. This is known as the Parthenon, the home of the ^{The} maiden goddess. Ictinus was the architect, but the general charge of the work was given to Pheidias, who directed all the artists in wood, bronze

and stone, and worked with his own hands at some of the finest statues. The temple was built in what is known as the Doric style, which is the simplest and also the most beautiful; and the whole building, even the roof, was made of the finest marble. All round ran a covered portico supported on columns. At the eastern end a vestibule led into the main hall, which was a hundred feet long. Here stood the great gold and ivory statue of the goddess, the work of Pheidias. In her left hand she held spear and shield, and in her outstretched right was a winged Victory, six feet high, holding a wreath. A serpent was coiled at her feet. This chamber with the statue was the real temple, but behind it was a smaller hall where the treasure of the League as well as that of the temple was stored, for it was the custom then to keep money in temples, which were safer than any other place because of their sanctity.

The Parthenon was decorated with beautiful sculpture, the greater part probably the work of Pheidias. Above the east and west ends there were large triangular spaces called pediments, and in each of these was set a group of statues, representing an event in the history of Athena. At the east end was the birth of the goddess, who sprang fully armed from the head of Zeus at the rising of the sun and setting of the moon, while Iris, the rainbow messenger of the gods, hastened forth to carry the glad tidings over the world. The western end represented the contest for Athens, when Athena created the olive and Poseidon struck the rock and made the well spring forth. Round the colonnade inside ran a sculptured frieze which represented the procession at the great festival, when priests, warriors and maidens marched through the streets of the city and up to the Acropolis with the brodered robe of Athena (see p. 96). Outside the temple at regular intervals there were groups of statuary, called metopes, representing

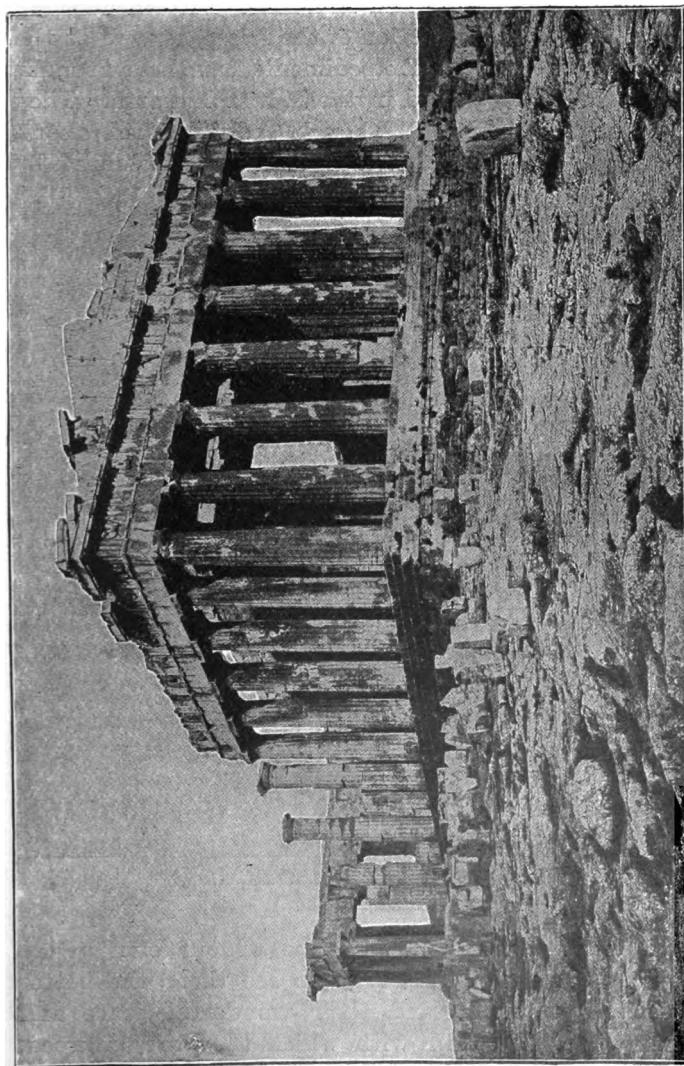


Photo. : S. C. Atchley, Athens.

THE PARTHENON.

battles with Centaurs and Amazons. Fifteen of these groups and a great portion of the frieze, as well as the principal statues from the pediments, have been brought to England, and placed in the British Museum. They are very beautiful still, though sadly hacked about, many of them without heads and all discoloured by



METOPE FROM THE PARTHENON.
(British Museum.)

Turkish powder and the smoke of our own grimy London. The oftener we go to see them, the better we learn to understand their wonderful grace and beauty, and the skill with which they are grouped. But to see them as they were seen by the Athenians of old we need the eye of faith, for we must imagine what

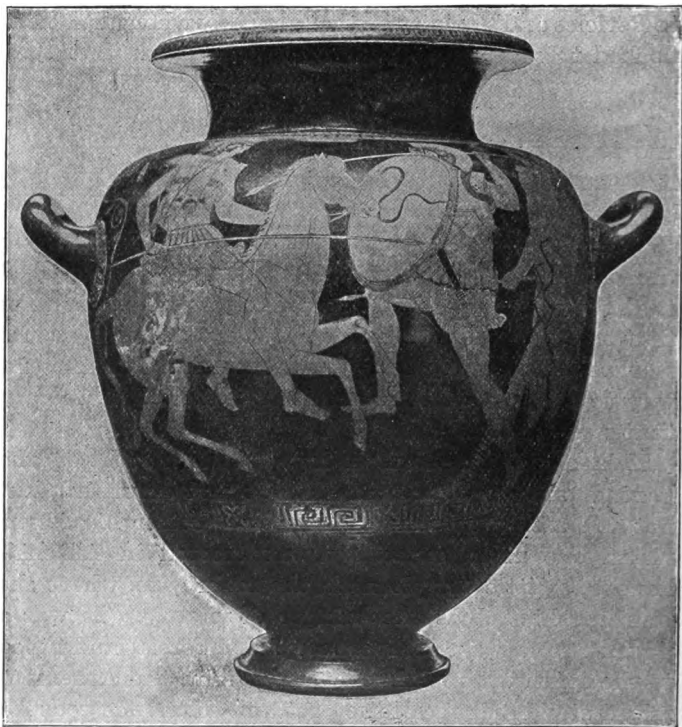
we cannot see. Once they flashed in the pure whiteness of snowy marble, and bright with ornament of gold and colour in the sunshine of a southern sky ; and we must try to fill in the broken bits and the colour and the brightness if we want to understand how they appeared to Pericles and Pheidias on that glad day when all Athens flocked to see the finished work, and knew that they looked upon one of the world's great masterpieces.

Yet all the beauty of the Parthenon and the gold and ivory of the new statue could not give it that sanctity in Athenian eyes that belonged to the ancient image, rough and shapeless though it was. This still kept its place in the old temple, nor were its honours ever transferred to the ivory statue ; and though it was the Parthenon that represented and handed down to after ages the picture of the Panathenaea, the procession still made its way to the Erechtheum, and it was the wooden image that wore the robe. The Erechtheum.

This old temple, which lay to the north of the Parthenon, was afterwards rebuilt and decorated, but not till after the time of Pericles. Under his supervision one more sanctuary was erected in Athena's honour, a little temple near the main gate, where she was worshipped as the bringer of victory. It was a thank-offering for deliverance from Persia, and stood to the south where Salamis was in sight, and Athenians might stand and recall the past and thank the gods for their great inheritance.

Besides his work on the Acropolis, Pericles helped to improve the rest of Athens. A new concert hall, known as the Odeum, was built for the musical contests which Pericles introduced at the great festival. It stood in the plain to the south of the Acropolis, near the great theatre of Dionysos, where the dramatic contests took place at the festival of the The Theatre

wine-god. The audience sat on seats cut out of the rock on the slope of the hill, and watched with delight the actors who performed before their eyes the great deeds of their ancestors and the adventures of gods and



ATTIC WINE JAR (*Stamnos*, see p. 83).
(British Museum.)

heroes. In order that no Athenian should be kept by poverty from celebrating this festival, Pericles arranged that two obols (about 4d.), the price of a theatre ticket, should be paid to every man whose name was properly entered on the roll of citizens. No one was to be kept

away because he was poor, for it was considered right that what was best and most beautiful in the city should be enjoyed by all.

While these works were in progress Pericles held the supreme power, not as tyrant or king, but simply by his ability and influence. For fifteen successive years he was elected chief general, and had he wished for a higher title it is probable that he might have won it. But all he desired was to be the first and most trusted of the citizens. Some voices had indeed been raised against him, and a few enemies had taunted him with spending the money of the allies unfairly in decking Athens "like a vain woman adorning herself with pendants of precious stones and statues and temples". At one time the opposition was so serious that an ostracism was called for, but the voting was in favour of Pericles, and his chief opponent went into exile.

This was a good thing for Athens, for the years when Pericles directed her fortunes were prosperous ones. If Cimon had witnessed her greatest glory in war, none knew better than Pericles how to use the blessings of peace. For Athenians had leisure now to learn the joys of life. Before their eyes stood the works of the greatest painters and sculptors. In the theatre they could see the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles; from east and west came wise teachers and philosophers to instruct them, and the roomy gymnasia were open to all who wished to train and exercise their bodies as well as their minds. Year by year at the great Athenian festival singers and harpists contended for prizes as well as boxers and wrestlers and runners, and now and then some great poet or writer would come from afar to recite his new work to the assembled citizens. Hither at Pericles' bidding came Herodotus himself, and read a portion of his

Pericles at
the height of
his power.

Wealth and
prosperity of
Athens.



ATTIC JARS.

- | | |
|--|---|
| A. Water-jar, <i>Hydria</i> . | G. Wine-jar, <i>Stamnos</i> . |
| B. Cup, <i>Kantharos</i> . | H. Oil-jar, <i>Lekythos</i> . |
| C. A wine-jar, <i>Pelike</i> . | J. Cup, <i>Kylix</i> . |
| D. Ladle, <i>Kyathos</i> . | K. Mixing-bowl, <i>Kelebe</i> . |
| E. Water-jar, <i>Hydria</i> . | L. Wine-jug, <i>Oinochoe</i> . |
| F. Jar for carrying wine, <i>Amphora</i> . | M. Jar for unguents, <i>Aryballos</i> . |

wonderful history to an audience which applauded him as the world has applauded him since.

Music, poetry, painting, sculpture, history, science and philosophy, all flourished at Athens in those glorious years of peace. It was no vain boast of Pericles that Athens had become the school of Greece, and that she alone knew how to cultivate beauty without extravagance, and to practise philosophy without losing the arts of manhood. And Athens was rich as well as beautiful. Her harbour-town, the Peiræus, was gay with shipping, the sheds were crowded with boats, and about the quays thronged slaves lading and unlading, merchants chaffering their wares and passengers embarking for distant ports. The products of Attica were everywhere in demand, for nowhere else could metal work, lamps and earthenware be had so cheap and so good. Attic ware travelled to all the coasts of the Mediterranean, jars for oil and wine and water, mixing-bowls and cups, and urns for burial; there was scarcely an event connected with life or death in which Attic vases did not play some part. In return Athens bought timber and fruit, rare wines from distant islands, incense from Syria, dates from Phœnicia, carpets from Carthage and papyrus from Egypt. Every country sent of its best to Athens, and the customs and market-dues flowed into the treasury, and seemed a never failing source of wealth in those golden days of Athenian prosperity.

CHAPTER XV.

THE WAR BETWEEN ATHENS AND SPARTA.

THERE is no more delightful part of Greek history than that which tells of the rise and greatness of Athens. Unfortunately her prosperity lasted but a short time. For fifty years she stood in the forefront of Greece; then came the terrible Peloponnesian War, which ended in her downfall.

The real cause of this war was the rivalry between Athens and Sparta, which had been growing more and more keen ever since the Persian invasions. On several occasions it had led to fighting; and though the quarrels had always been patched up, there was no thought of a real peace, but only a succession of truces, to last till both sides were ready for war. When two states are bent on fighting, it matters very little what serves to bring on the final outbreak, and so it happened that a quarrel between Corinth and one of her colonies hastened on this war. One of the chief Corinthian colonies was Corcyra (now Corfu), an island off the coast of Epirus. Corcyra became a rich and flourishing state, which in her turn sent out colonies, and one of these was Epidamnus, a seaport of Illyria. Here a quarrel broke out between the two parties, the democracy and aristocracy, which were to be found in every Greek state. The people got the upper hand, and drove out the nobles, who got together some barbarian troops and marched to attack the city. In this

The causes
of the war.

Quarrel
between
Corinth and
Corcyra

difficulty the Epidamnians called on their mother city for help, and when it was refused, they sent to Corinth, which was in a sense the grandmother city. The Corinthians sent some troops; and the Corcyraeans, who resented this interference, marched against them and blockaded the isthmus on which Epidamnus was situated. In a sea-fight the Corcyraeans, who had the stronger navy, defeated the Corinthians and took Epidamnus. The Corinthians, furious at being beaten by their own colony, resolved to strengthen their fleet, and began building fresh ships. Seeing these preparations the Corcyraeans in their turn grew alarmed, and began to look out for allies. As Athens was the chief naval state, and on bad terms with Corinth, it was natural they should apply to her for assistance; and after a good deal of discussion it was decided to enter into a sort of alliance with Corcyra, and send some ships to help her against Corinth. This first quarrel led to a second. Most of the coast towns in Thrace were members of the Delian League; and as some of them had originally been Corinthian colonies, the Athenians were afraid that they might be inclined to revolt. Potidaea was one of these; and as its situation on the most westerly of the three little prongs of the peninsula Chalcidice made it a very important post, they ordered the Potidaeans to take down a portion of their walls, and to give up their practice of receiving a magistrate every year from Corinth. They refused to obey, and in so doing were encouraged by the Spartans, who promised to invade Attica if the Athenians should attack them. At the same time Perdicas, king of Macedonia, who had broken away from the Athenian alliance, persuaded some of the allies in Thrace to revolt. The quarrel was becoming general, and Pericles, seeing that war must come, determined to strike the first blow. Megara was the most dangerous

Quarrel
about
Potidaea.

enemy of Athens, because it lay on the borders of Attica. It had taken the part of the Corinthians in the recent struggle, and this supplied a pretext for attacking it. The Athenians passed a decree expelling the Megarians from all the ports and markets of their empire. This was a great blow to their trade, since the League included nearly all the commercial cities. Other states too had grounds of complaint against Athens, and she was growing unpopular even with those who had once been her friends. At last the Peloponnesian allies sent

**Complaints
against
Athens.**

a deputation to Sparta to complain of the high-handed proceedings of Athens. They pointed to the enormous increase in her power, which was becoming a menace to the rest of Hellas, and besought the Spartans to end this tyranny by declaring war against her. Some Athenian envoys who happened to be at Sparta at the time begged leave to speak in defence of their city. They declared that Athens had won her empire by hard work and true patriotism, first during the Persian wars and afterwards in helping their kinsmen in Asia. They warned Sparta against any hasty action, and bade them refer the matter to arbitration according to the terms of the thirty years' truce.

**Congress of
the allies at
Sparta, 432
B.C.**

When both sides had spoken, all foreigners and allies were asked to withdraw, and the Spartans put the question to the vote. The majority were in favour of war. They now summoned a congress of the allies at Sparta, so that they too might formally give their votes for or against it. War was resolved on; but in order to gain time for preparations, envoys were sent to Athens with demands, none of which could possibly be granted. First the Athenians were bidden to drive out "the accursed race". This referred to the ancient crime of the Alcmaeonids, and was aimed at Pericles, who on his

mother's side was descended from that house. They retorted by bidding the Spartans atone for their sacrilege in killing Pausanias within the sacred precincts. The next demand was the withdrawal of the troops from Potidaea, the independence of Aegina and the repeal of the Megarian decree. Before an answer could be sent to this, fresh envoys arrived with an ultimatum or final demand: "The Lacedaemonians wish the peace to stand; and it may stand, if you will give the Hellenes their independence". This meant that the Athenians should give up their whole empire and confine themselves to the little peninsula of Attica. By the advice of Pericles, they returned this answer:—

The Spartan ultimatum.

"We will open our markets and harbours to the Megarians if the Lacedaemonians in their turn will cease to expel us and our allies from their lands; we will grant independence to the cities if they enjoyed independence at the time when we made the truce, and as soon as they too shall leave their allies free to govern themselves as they prefer, and not as it pleases the Lacedaemonians. We are willing to give satisfaction according to the terms of the truce, and we will not begin the war, but if we are attacked we shall defend ourselves."

The Athenian reply.

So the ambassadors went home and returned no more.

This was the beginning of what the Athenians called the Peloponnesian War. It lasted twenty-seven years (from 431 to 404), and most of the Greek states took part in it. On the Spartan side were all the Peloponnesians except Argos and Achaea; on the isthmus Corinth and Megara were friendly, and in northern Greece Boeotia, Phocis and Locris, in fact all the numerous states that were jealous of the growing power of Athens. Most of the Athenian

The division of parties.

allies were in distant parts, many of them in Asia, but they could supply ships and help to give Athens command of the sea, while the strength of Sparta was on land. Of course a war between two powers, one military and one naval, is a difficult one to conduct. There can be no great battles either by sea or land, each side can only try to tire out the other, and therefore it takes far longer to decide than one in which the combatants are more evenly matched. The Peloponnesians could do Athens little injury except by invading her territory at those few points where they could reach it by land. This was easiest in Attica and Thrace, and therefore during the first stage of the war hardly a year passed without an invasion of Attica; and there were frequent expeditions to Thrace with the object of attacking the towns there, and winning them by force or persuasion from the Athenian alliance. Athens had two courses open to her. She could act on the defensive and try to drive out the invaders, or she might take the aggressive and sail against the coast-lands of the Peloponnesian allies. The former seemed the safer and easier plan, but Pericles advised against it. In a pitched battle, he

The counsel
of Pericles.

knew, the Spartans would almost certainly be victorious; therefore he wished to sacrifice the villages and country districts, and only defend the city and the coast. It was no easy matter to persuade the Athenians to give up their farms and homesteads and their fertile lands to the invader, but the eloquence of Pericles prevailed. "Mourn not," said he, "for the loss of lands and houses. Keep your lamentations for men. Houses and lands do not bring forth men, it is the men who acquire them. Nay, if I thought I could persuade you, I would exhort you to go forth and destroy them yourselves, and thus show the Peloponnesians that you will not yield for their sake." At his bidding they brought their families and property,

even the furniture and woodwork of the houses, into the city, and carried their flocks and herds across to Euboea. Thus they made ready for the invader.

Before the Spartans could march into Attica the war broke out in another quarter, and the patriotic little town of Plataea was the scene of the first fight. Thebes was taking advantage of the hostilities to attack her old enemy. One dark night in March three hundred Thebans marched to Plataea and were admitted by a few traitors. The Plataeans, taken unawares and not realising the small number of the enemy, were at first surprised into granting their demands, but when accident revealed the truth their courage returned and they resolved to resist. They broke down the walls between some of the houses so that they might meet and make their plans in secret. When they had barricaded all the roads that led to the market-place, they attacked the enemy and put them to flight. The Thebans, surprised in their turn, started off in different directions and tried to find the gates. Mistaking the door of a large building for one of these, they ran in and were caught in a trap. It was lucky for the Plataeans that an accident had put these prisoners into their hands, for the three hundred had been only an advance guard of the Theban army. When the rest arrived they were told to retire at once on pain of forfeiting the lives of the prisoners. The Thebans obeyed, but the Plataeans, in spite of their promise, put all the prisoners to death, after they had hastily carried their property into the city in anticipation of a siege. This was a foolish as well as a dishonourable act, for as long as the Thebans were alive the Plataeans had a hold over the enemy; now they were dead, nothing remained but to avenge them. As soon as the Athenians had heard of the night attack and its results, they sent orders to keep the prisoners

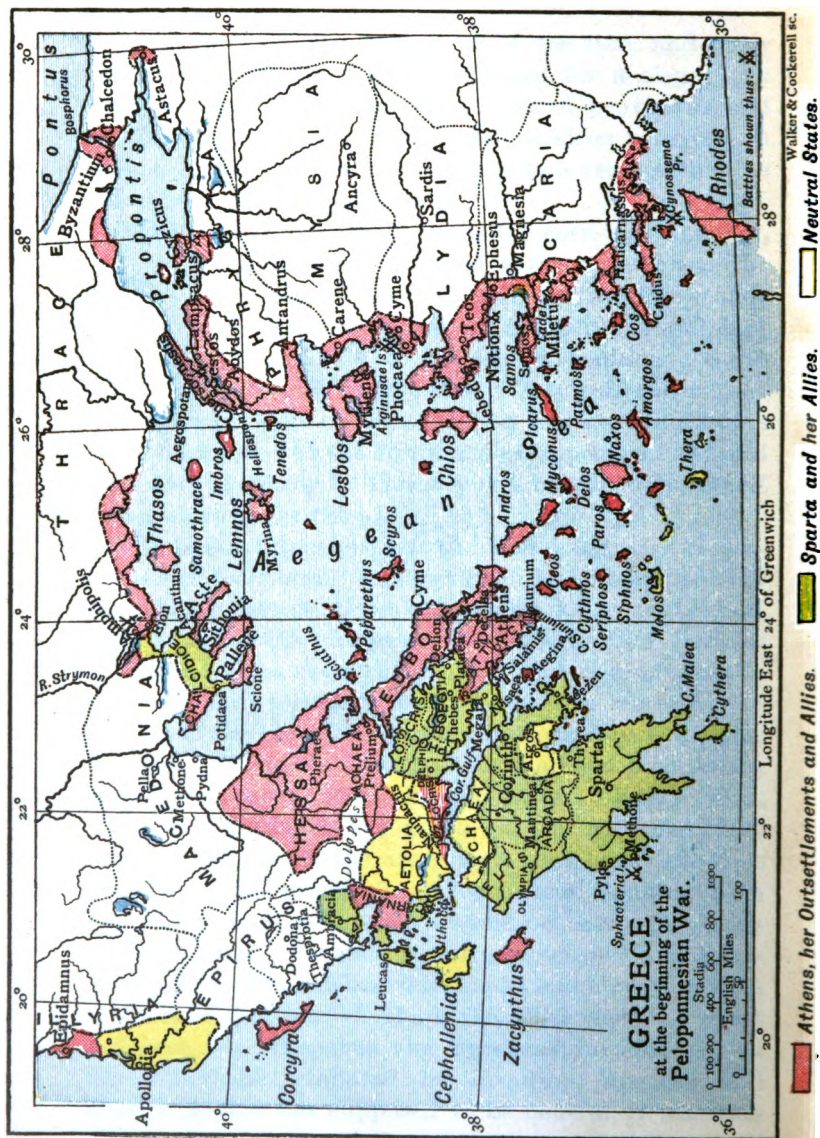
The Thebans
attack
Plataea, 431
B.C.

as hostages, but this message came too late, and their only course was to prepare Plataea for a siege. An Athenian garrison was sent, a store of provisions laid in, and the old men, women and children removed to a place of safety. But it was only two years after this that the siege actually began.

Towards the end of May, when the corn was ripening, the Spartans invaded Attica. As it was the first act of hostility between the two states, Archidamus halted at the isthmus and sent on a herald to bid the Athenians give in before it was too late. They refused to hear his message, and ordered him to leave their borders before sunset. At the frontier he stopped and uttered a gloomy prophecy: "This day will be the beginning of many sorrows for Greece".

The first
Spartan
invasion of
Attica,
431 B.C.

When the Athenians saw the enemy actually in possession of their lands, beating down the corn and setting fire to the houses, their excitement knew no bounds, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Pericles restrained them from rushing out and risking a battle in which they would probably have been worsted. In the years to come they grew accustomed to the sight, for again and again the Spartans marched into Attica and laid it waste with fire and sword. Every year, while this invasion was going on, the Athenian fleet and a great part of the army were sent out. The fleet usually sailed round the Peloponnesus, landing here and there to attack some seaport or harry the lands near the coast. Several cities were besieged, and a few were taken, but neither side made much way by this method of fighting. Perhaps the allies were the worst sufferers, for whenever the Spartans invaded Attica the Athenians retaliated by invading Megara; and though Aegina was supposed to be neutral, it was suspected of a leaning to Sparta, and as a punishment all



the inhabitants were carried away and the island resettled with an Attic population. ✓

The Athenian plan of campaign had been carefully arranged by Pericles, and it is possible that it might have proved successful but for ^{The plague at Athens,} events that could not be foreseen. In the ^{430 B.C.} second year of the war a terrible plague broke out at Athens. It was probably brought there from Egypt, but no doubt the overcrowding in the city helped to spread it. It was like the time of the Great Plague of London in 1666, of which Defoe, the author of "Robinson Crusoe," has left us an account. The people were in such despair that they neglected the sick and deserted the dying, and no one could be found to do a kind turn for a neighbour except those few who had had the sickness and recovered, and felt themselves secure against a second attack. Two sons of Pericles died of it. Among those who fell ill and recovered was Thucydides, the historian of the Peloponnesian War, and he has given an exact account of the symptoms and the course of the disease. With plague inside the walls, the enemy at the gate, and little success for their arms abroad, it is no wonder that the Athenians began to grow discouraged and wanted to vent their anger on the man who, they thought, was the cause of all their troubles. Pericles was deprived of his command, and accused of wrongfully applying the public funds. He was even condemned to pay a fine, but the tide turned in his favour again, and once more he was elected general. When, soon after this, Pericles died his coun- ^{Death of Pericles,} trymen sadly missed his wise counsels. He ^{429 B.C.} was a true patriot and a good man, and on his deathbed he claimed as his chief title to respect, that no Athenian had ever put on mourning for any action of his.

Had Pericles lived a few years longer many mistakes

might have been avoided. Perhaps the Athenians would have behaved more generously to their faithful little ally Plataea, which now came in for the full vengeance of its enemies. In the third year of the war the Thebans persuaded the Spartans, instead of invading Attica, to march into Boeotia and attack Plataea. After the great battle against Persia the territory of the Plataeans had been declared sacred and inviolable. The Spartan king, not wishing to incur the anger of the gods, proposed that the townspeople should leave their territory till the war was over ; meanwhile the Spartans would cultivate their lands, and as soon as peace was concluded, render up every corn-field and every fruit-tree in good condition. The Plataeans sent to Athens for advice, and it was arranged that there should be a truce until the return of the messengers. After a while they brought back this answer : " Men of Plataea, the Athenians say they have never yet permitted you to be injured since the alliance first began, nor will they now betray you, but will help you to the best of their power. And they call on you, by the same oaths which your fathers swore, not to depart in any way from the alliance." Confident in Athenian help, the Plataeans refused the Spartan offer, and Archidamus called the gods and heroes to witness that the guilt of the deed lay with the Boeotians and not with him.

**Siege and
fall of
Plataea,
429-427 B.C.**

The siege now began. First the Spartans surrounded the city with a palisade, next they built a high mound to face the southern wall, so that they might be able to shoot arrows and javelins down on the defenders. To prevent this the Plataeans raised their own wall, building up a structure of bricks set in a wooden frame, and they put up a screen of hides to protect themselves while they were building it. Still the Spartan mound continued to grow, and the Plataeans had to try a new

plan. They made a hole in the wall underneath, and drew out the earth from the mound. They also built a crescent-shaped wall on the inner side of the raised wall, so that if the enemy should take the one they would still have the protection of the other. In fact there was no end to the ingenious devices of the garrison. When the enemy brought up a battering-ram they managed to snap off its head by means of a machine made of two poles, to which a large beam had been attached by iron chains. When all the plans had failed, and even an attempt to set fire to the city had been thwarted, the Spartans saw there was nothing for it but a regular blockade. They therefore built a fresh wall all round the city, at a distance from it of about a hundred yards, and dug two trenches, one on each side. As it was now impossible to get in or out, Archidamus returned home, leaving only a small part of his army to starve out the Plataeans. The blockade lasted two years, for all the inhabitants had left the city except the garrison, who continued to hold out in the hope that the Athenians would redeem their promise and come to the rescue. Time went on, food grew scarce, and still the Athenians delayed. Indeed they had most likely never meant to come, but were leaving Plataea to her fate, as they had been obliged to do with their own lands and farms. At last half the garrison resolved to escape if they could. One dark, rainy night they managed to slip out of the town unperceived and climb the Spartan wall by means of ladders, after killing the guards at the point where they meant to cross. Meantime the rest of the garrison made a sally on the opposite side, to divert the attention of the besiegers. After all sorts of adventures and many narrow escapes about two hundred Plataeans came in safety to Athens. The rest held out till the following summer, when hunger forced them to surrender. They were all put

to death, two hundred Plataeans and five Athenians. The patriotic little city was razed to the ground.

Before the surrender of Plataea another and more grievous blow had been struck at the power of Athens. The third invasion of Attica was just over, and the people were breathing freely again after the departure of their too

Lesbos
revolts from
Athens, 428
B.C.

faithful enemy, when word was brought to Athens that Lesbos, the only one of the large islands that had always remained loyal, had declared itself independent. The Athenians had not yet recovered from the effects of the plague and the invasions. The Lesbians had a large fleet, and with a little assistance they thought they could hold their own. This happened in 428, the year of the Olympic festival, from which the Athenians and their allies were excluded as long as the war lasted. The Lesbians sent envoys to Olympia to beg for help against Athens. They were received with enthusiasm, and the Lesbians were admitted to the Peloponnesian League. Even the Spartans made up their minds quickly, and resolved to march to the isthmus, haul across the ships that had been engaged on the west of Greece, and despatch them to the relief of Mitylene, which the Athenians were besieging. Both harbours were already blocked, and a wall had been built on the land side. Towards the end of the winter the Spartans sent a man named Salaethus to assure the people of Mitylene that relief was at hand; he ran the blockade and got into the city. Some weeks later forty-two ships were really sent out, and the Lesbians waited on hoping for their arrival. But the only aim of the Peloponnesian ships seemed to be to avoid the Athenians, and they did in fact manage to cross the Aegean without falling in with them. When they got to the Ionian coast they heard that Mitylene had surrendered.

As time went on and food grew scarce, and still the

Spartans did not come, Salaethus had persuaded the people to sally out of the town and try to break through the Athenian lines. Arms were served out to all the citizens, but the poorer classes who were weary of hunger, and thought anything would be better than a continuance of the siege, refused to march. They even threatened that, unless all the food in the town were put in their hands, they would open the gates to the enemy. As they now had arms in their possession and were more numerous than the rest of the citizens, the magistrates were forced to make the best terms they could with the Athenians. It was settled that the Assembly should decide the fate of the Mityleneans, but they might send envoys to Athens to speak on their behalf. The leaders of the revolt were carried in chains to Athens, and with them Salaethus, who was at once put to death. Cleon, a leader of the popular party, one of the accusers of Pericles, who had of late gained a great deal of influence in the Assembly, proposed that they should put to death all the prisoners, and also every male citizen of Mitylene, and sell their wives and children as slaves. The meeting actually carried this cruel decree, so angry were they that an island which had always been friendly should turn against them in their time of trouble. What they could least forgive was the intrusion of a Peloponnesian fleet in that sea which for the last fifty years they had looked on as an Athenian lake. But when their anger began to cool and they thought matters over quietly, many of the citizens felt sorry and ashamed of their revengeful action. A ship had been already sent off with the order, but in spite of this the Assembly met again next day to reconsider the decision. By a few votes they repealed the cruel decree, and decided to punish only the ring-leaders. A second ship was now sent off with orders

Fall of
Mitylene,
427 B.C.

to row as fast as possible and overtake the first. Proud of their errand of mercy the crew put on their very best speed; between Athens and Mitylene they never once slackened, and the rowers in turns took short intervals of rest, while all the food they had was barley meal steeped in wine and oil, which they swallowed at their seats. With all these efforts they arrived only just in time. The order for execution had already been handed to the Athenian general, and he was preparing to carry it out when the ship came in sight. We may imagine the rejoicing when the second decree was read out. Of course the Athenians could not leave the rebels quite unpunished. The thirty ringleaders who had been sent to Athens were put to death. The whole of Lesbos, except one city that had remained loyal, was forfeited to Athens; it was divided into 3,000 lots, of which 300 (one-tenth) were consecrated to the gods. The rest were let out to Athenian citizens, and the Lesbians had to pay them an annual rent. The fortifications of Mitylene were destroyed, and all her ships of war taken from her. She remained a member of the league, but a subject instead of an ally.

While these events had taken place at Lesbos and in the eastern parts of Greece, there was fighting going on in the west as well, where the only allies of Athens were the Acarnanians and the Messenians of Naupactus. The Peloponnesians sent out forty-seven ships, which had to pass the Athenian admiral Phormio, who was guarding the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf with twenty vessels. But the Peloponnesian ships were badly managed; and in spite of his small numbers Phormio was able to throw them into confusion. The Spartans now sent out some more ships with orders that they must not be beaten again. In the second battle they made a great effort to drive Phormio's ships to the shore,

The success
of Phormio
in the West.

where his naval skill would not tell. In this way they managed to cut off nine, but the other eleven escaped into the harbour of Naupactus. Thence they suddenly turned upon the enemy, who in the pursuit had broken up and dispersed, and were able to defeat them one by one and recover all the ships they had lost at the beginning of the battle.~

Soon after this Phormio died and another general, Demosthenes, took command in the west. There was a great deal of fighting there, but little came of it, till Demosthenes hit on an entirely new plan. He was on his way back to his post, sailing with the fleet which was making for Sicily and was to land him on its way. The ships were driven by bad weather into the harbour of Pylos (now Navarino), and this seemed to Demosthenes a suitable place for carrying out his scheme. He wanted to fortify a place in the enemy's country, and use it as a base for attacking them by sea and land. He now urged the generals who had command of the expedition to stay and fortify Pylos. It was a good spot for his purpose, with stones and timber ready to hand. At first the other generals laughed at the plan, and told Demosthenes there were plenty of other desert places to occupy if he was bent on wasting the public money. But when the ships were still detained by storms and some occupation had to be found for the soldiers, he was allowed to carry out his plan. Pylos was a promontory on the west of what had once been Messenia, very narrow and not quite a mile long. To the south, and separated only by a narrow channel was a long island called Sphacteria. Between this and the mainland opposite was another rather wider channel. The whole formed a large sheltered harbour shut in by the peninsula and island. Demosthenes had chosen his ground well, for Pylos was easy to fortify. At only three

Demosthenes
fortifies
Pylos, 425
B.C.

places need walls be built, for everywhere else it was almost impossible to land. As Demosthenes had hitherto been forced to keep his plans to himself, they had brought with them no proper building materials. They had therefore to collect stones and fit them together as their shapes would best allow; and as they had no hods they had to carry the mortar on their backs, bending forward to keep it from slipping off and clasping their hands behind to hold it in its place. In six days the work was done; by this time the storms were over, and the fleet sailed away leaving Demosthenes with five ships to hold Pylos.

The news of this intrusion into their country reached the Spartans during their annual invasion of Attica, and made them return much earlier than usual. Word was sent to their allies to come to the help of Pylos, and sixty ships which happened to be at Corcyra were sent for in haste. Fearing that the Athenians might seize the island too, and so strengthen their position, the Lacedaemonians at once sent a force of Spartans and helots to hold Sphacteria. Their object was to make an attack on Pylos, and capture or drive away Demosthenes before the Athenian fleet could come to his aid. Demosthenes, who was prepared for this, had posted the greater part of his force at the northern and south-eastern corners, where the danger was greatest; he himself took his stand with a small force on the edge of the south-western shore, where the enemy was most likely to attempt a landing. The Spartan admiral had forty-three ships, which he brought up in relays, the crews fighting and resting in turn. There was some danger of running on reefs, and several of the captains held back. One of the triremes was
Brasidas. commanded by Brasidas, a brave man and the best general Sparta ever had. He had already distinguished himself by the successful defence of a

seaport, and by a daring raid on the island of Salamis. It was he who urged on the rest. "Do not spare the timber," he cried, "the enemy has built a fortress in your country. Let the ships perish and force a landing." Then he had his own ship driven close in. As soon as it was within reach of land he jumped on to the landing-steps, meaning to be the first to reach the shore. No one followed, and for a while he stood here alone facing the Athenians, who were trying to force him back. At last the many wounds he received made him faint away, and he fell back into the ship, while his shield slipped from his arm and rolled over into the water. The Athenians picked it up, and afterwards hung it on the trophy with which they celebrated this repulse of the Peloponnesians. It was great glory to show the shield of a brave Spartan, but every one knew well enough that, so long as Brasidas retained consciousness, that prize could never have been theirs.

Nothing came of this attack, nor of those made on the following days. All those little skirmishes had caused delay, and before the Spartans could get a foothold the Athenian fleet had returned. The general in command determined to force his way into the harbour, where the Peloponnesian fleet was drawn up in battle order. They managed to row in by both channels, and several vessels which ran out to meet them were captured. So sudden was the attack, that many of the Lacedaemonian ships were not yet manned, and the Athenians tried to tow them off before the crews could recover from their panic. But the soldiers came to the rescue. Armed as they were, they rushed into the water, seized the ships, and tried to drag them back. In this way they saved all except those that had been taken at the first onset. Still victory fell to the Athenians, for it was they who gave the enemy leave

to collect and bury their dead, and who set up a trophy in token of success.

This honour was not an unimportant one. The result of the battle was to drive the Spartans on to the mainland opposite. As the Athenian ships now lay between them and Sphacteria, the troops on the island were actually prisoners, shut up between the fleet in the harbour and the troops of Demosthenes at Pylos. No supplies could reach them, and they must either surrender or starve, unless they could force their way through the enemy's lines. The boldest course would have been the best, but Brasidas, their one general of spirit and daring, lay ill with his wound, and no one else had the courage to lead a forlorn hope. At last it was decided to arrange a truce while peace proposals were sent to Athens. Until the envoys returned the ships were to be handed over to the Athenians, who undertook to supply the prisoners with small rations of food.

The delegates now arrived at Athens with a very different message from that which Sparta had last sent. "Give us back the men in the island," was their petition, "and in return we offer you peace and alliance with Sparta." Peace with honour really seemed to be within the grasp of the Athenians. Unfortunately they made the mistake of asking too much. At Cleon's suggestion they agreed to set free the soldiers who were shut up in Sphacteria, if the Peloponnesians would give back Achaea, Nisaea and all the other places they had held before the Thirty Years' Truce. This was too high a price, the Spartans thought, to set on the lives even of their bravest soldiers. Best fight it out after all, and let the better side win. The trireme that had brought the envoys carried them back to Pylos to report the failure of their mission. The truce came to an end; but on

Peace proposals sent to Athens.

some pretence of failure to observe its conditions the Athenians refused to give up the ships.

The blockade now continued. The Athenian ships lay on both sides of the island, and kept guard to prevent the introduction of provisions. All the same, they were often eluded. When a strong wind from the west or north drove the Athenians into the bay, the little provision boats managed to run ashore on the sea side of the island. Some skilful divers also crossed over from the mainland, dragging after them by ropes skins full of linseed and poppyseed mixed with honey—not very appetising food perhaps, but nourishing and welcome enough to starving men. Since every helot who succeeded in bringing food to his master had been promised his liberty, those who ran these risks had at any rate a strong inducement.

Time went on and still the island held out, while people at Athens, who were daily expecting news of the capture, grew more and more impatient. One day in the Assembly Cleon Cleon takes the command began to sneer at the incapacity of the generals, and said in the presence of Nicias, the chief commander, that if the generals were men they would sail to the island and seize the garrison without any more delay. "If I were commander, I would do it myself," he exclaimed in his excitement. "Do it then," cried his opponents, who wanted no doubt to make him seem ridiculous. Nicias too came forward and politely requested Cleon to take over the command and make good his boast. At first he tried to back out, but finding himself pressed on all sides he resolved to make the best of the situation. He needed no Athenian troops, he said, only a few soldiers from Lemnos and Imbros, with some Thracian targeteers and four hundred bowmen. With these and the force already at Pylos he would undertake either to kill the men at Sphacteria or bring

them in chains to Athens. It was amid the jeers of his fellow-citizens that Cleon set out for Pylos, but for all that his boast was fulfilled. On his arrival he and Demosthenes arranged to make an attack on the island. A fire, which had lately burnt down a good deal of the forest, now enabled them to get a better view of the

Capture of Sphacteria, 425 B.C. enemy. At dawn they landed in the south of the island, overpowered the outpost and then broke up their forces, so that wherever the Spartans turned they met an enemy. Pressed on all sides, they at last retreated to a high hill at the north, which was partly defended by an ancient wall. Here they meant to make their last stand. The Athenians were helped by the Messenians, who knew the country well and were glad to pay off their old grudge against the Spartans. One of their captains pointed out a path by which the enemy could be taken in the rear. He led his troops round to a narrow gorge which opened into a hollow, from which a steep path led to the top of the hill, and here suddenly the Messenians appeared at a point which the Spartans had not thought it necessary to defend. These were now surrounded, and could only choose between death and surrender. At Thermopylae their ancestors had chosen death, but the Spartan spirit was no longer the same. They agreed to lay down their arms, and Cleon had the honour of carrying back to Athens nearly three hundred Spartan citizens, whose boast had always been that they would die rather than surrender. Cleon's promise was fulfilled. Athens had valuable hostages in her power, and the Messenians had taken vengeance on their ancient foe. In their joy and gratitude for the great boon the gods had granted them, they dedicated a statue to Zeus at Olympia.

It really seemed as though Athens were recovering her lost ground, for the Sphacteria prisoners gave her a pull



over Sparta, and soon afterwards a successful stratagem once more put her in possession of Nisaea, the port of Megara. The city itself would probably have been taken had not Brasidas hastened to its relief. The next step was, if possible, to recover Boeotia. It was to be attacked in three places at once. Demosthenes was to go by sea to a port on the south coast. Hippocrates was to enter Boeotia with an army on the north-east, and seize the temple of Apollo at Delium, just across the border, while Chaeronea, in the extreme west, was to be captured by traitors at home (see map p. 182). These three movements were planned for the same day; and if they succeeded in capturing these important points the Athenians believed they would easily master the rest of the country. All might have gone well had the secret been kept. But somehow the Boeotians got wind of the plan. Demosthenes found the enemy prepared, and was forced to retire. Hippocrates seized Delium but, as he was not joined by Demosthenes, he too had to withdraw. On the way back he fell in with the army which had put Demosthenes to flight, and was completely routed. Hippocrates himself and more than a thousand of his men fell in the battle.

Athens
attacks
Boeotia, 424
B.C.,

and fails.

This failure in Boeotia was a serious blow to Athens. Even worse was the result of the war in Thrace. As Athens had many possessions in these parts it was important to keep on good terms with the kings of Thrace and Macedonia, their nearest neighbours. Thrace was a faithful ally, but Macedonia shifted from side to side. The present king, Perdiccas, now sent to Sparta to ask for help against the Athenians, and he suggested that Brasidas should be put in command of the forces they sent. It was a wise request, for Brasidas was not only a good general and brave soldier, but he had the gift,

Brasidas
goes to
Thrace, 424
B.C.

rare among Spartans, of winning respect and affection from his equals and subordinates. He was a brilliant speaker too, just the man to send to cities that could be won by kindness and persuasion even better than by force of arms.

The task of Brasidas was not an easy one. He could not reach Thrace without passing through Thessaly, which was friendly to Athens. He halted on the frontier, and sent on messengers to ask for an escort through Thessaly. It was sent by a party friendly to Perdiccas; and so skilful was their conduct and so speedy the march that Brasidas was well on his way before a force was sent to oppose him. Even this he disarmed by fair words. His sole aim, he explained, was to take from the Athenians the territory they had wrongfully seized. He would not continue his march if the Thessalians objected, but he hoped to win their consent. The opposing troops now withdrew, but fearing the Thessalians might change their minds, Brasidas hurried out of their country as fast as he could. Next he passed through Macedonia and on to Acte, the most easterly prong of Chalcidice. He meant to win the city of Acanthus from the Athenians, by persuasion if possible, if not by force. When he had induced the people to admit him alone into the town, he told them that the Spartans wanted only to protect the liberties of Greece against Athens, and it was to the interest of the Acanthians to come over freely. Still, if they refused, he would ravage their land and so compel them to give in. He then withdrew, and the matter was discussed in the public assembly. The question was put to the vote, and the majority was on the side of Brasidas. Thereupon Acanthus gave up the Athenian alliance, and joined the Peloponnesian. Other towns did the

He marches
through
Thessaly.

Several
towns come
over to him.

same, and soon Brasidas saw his way to an attack on Amphipolis, the most important Athenian colony in these parts. The Strymon flowed round three sides of the town, and close

He attacks Amphipolis

by was the bridge across which Xerxes had twice marched, and which was the road for all trade between Thrace and Macedonia. Brasidas marched so quickly that he found the Athenians unprepared, and easily overpowered the small force which guarded the bridge. Being anxious to take the city before help could be sent to it, Brasidas offered easy terms. The inhabitants might remain in the town and keep their property and all their rights, but, if any preferred to depart, he gave them five days for collecting their possessions. The terms were tempting; and though help was at hand, the citizens did not know it. Amphipolis surrendered a few hours before the arrival of Thucydides, who held the

The surrender.

Athenian command in Thrace. He was in time to save Eion, but this service could not win his pardon. Cleon accused him, rightly no doubt, of negligence; he was convicted, deprived of his command and banished. In the years of his exile he wrote the history of the war, and no book was ever more famous.

"For twenty years," he said, "I was banished from my country after I held the command at Amphipolis, and associating with both sides, with the Peloponnesians quite as much as with the Athenians, because

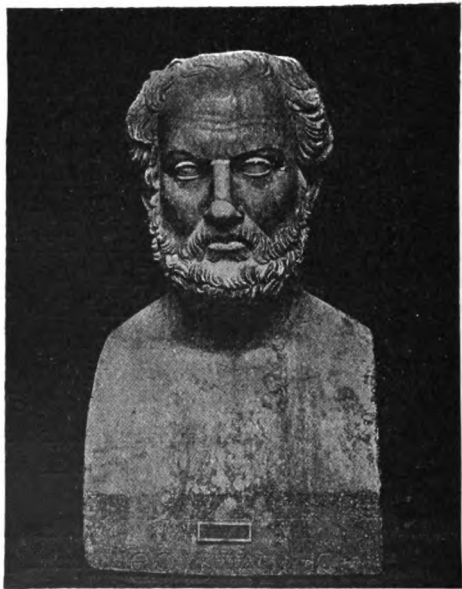
of my exile, I was able quietly to watch the course of events." This is how Thucydides, the unsuccessful general, became Thucydides the historian.✓

Thucydides the historian

Meantime Brasidas passed from success to success. One after another the towns in Thrace submitted to him, some by force of arms, but most won over by his persuasive eloquence.

Further successes of Brasidas.

The Athenians were growing alarmed ; and when next the Spartans approached them with peace proposals, they gladly welcomed the chance of stopping the triumphant progress of Brasidas. A truce was made for twelve months, to give both sides time to consider the final terms. For the present they were each to keep the places they had taken.



THUCYDIDES.
(Naples Museum.)

Envoys from Sparta and Athens were now sent out in pairs to announce the cessation of hostilities. This took up a good deal of time. As the truce had to be proclaimed in all Greek lands, near and far, it was not possible to announce it everywhere on the same day, and fighting went on in some places after it had stopped in others. It happened

Truce for one
year, 423
B.C.

that when the envoys sent to Thrace arrived, Scione had revolted from Athens and called in the aid of Brasidas. He addressed the citizens, and inspired them with such enthusiasm that they set a gold crown on his head, and hailed him as the deliverer of Greece. Athens claimed that Scione ought to be given back, because it was taken after the beginning of the truce. Sparta replied that the truce began at each place on the day when it was announced there. Before the matter was decided another city revolted, and the Athenians in their indignation set aside the truce and sent out Nicias to recapture Scione and kill the inhabitants. This proved easier to order than to carry out, and at the end of the year the Athenians were still blockading the city. Cleon now thought he saw his way to a second Sphacteria, and persuaded the people to send him to Scione. After recovering a few towns he proceeded against Amphipolis, where Brasidas was stationed with the greater part of his troops. Cleon, finding that the enemy's forces were withdrawn into the town on his approach, thought that the Spartans were unwilling to fight. He ought to have waited for more troops, but his soldiers grumbled at being kept idle, and in order to keep them occupied he marched his army to the top of a hill near the city wall, from which he was able to observe Brasidas on a hill on the other side of the town. Brasidas also saw Cleon, and at once led his troops down to the city to prepare for a sally. Cleon, who was not ready for an attack, gave the order to fall back on Eion, but instead of arranging his troops in battle order, he let them march as they were. Brasidas, who was watching him, exclaimed: "These men will not stand. I know it from the wavering of their spears." Without further delay he led out a small detachment at one gate, while the rest followed

Fighting still continues.

Death of
Cleon and
Brasidas,
422 B.C.

by another. As Brasidas had expected, the Athenian line broke at once. The left wing reached Eion in safety, but the right and centre lost heavily. Many turned and fled, among them Cleon, but he was cut down, and it was well he did not live to be marked as a coward. This was the last battle of Brasidas too. While hurrying to the assistance of one of his generals he was struck in the side by a spear. He died knowing himself victorious, but that victory was dearly won. The people of Amphipolis put on mourning for Brasidas. They offered him the rights due to a hero, and decreed that henceforth the honours that had been paid to their Athenian founder should be transferred to Brasidas.

Thus the same day removed from the scene Brasidas and Cleon, each in his own way an obstacle to peace. The Spartans were eager to get back the Sphacteria captives; the Athenians longed to cultivate their lands once more. Peace was concluded for fifty years. Both parties were to give up the prisoners and cities taken during the war, but these conditions were never properly carried out, for each side tried to keep those places that had come over of their own free will. Corinth and some other states refused to agree to the peace at all, so that there were parts of Greece where the war
Peace. went on even while the truce was supposed to be in force. That is why the years of so-called peace are included in the history of the Peloponnesian War.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ATHENIAN EXPEDITION TO SICILY.

THIS treaty, which was known as the Peace of Nicias, was made in the year 421. It was concluded for fifty years, and lasted seven, and even these seven were not a time of peace. Some of the conditions were never carried out at all. Sparta would not give up Amphipolis, and Athens still kept Pylos. The alliance between the rival states was short-lived, and a change of parties at Athens helped to break it.

The truce had been the work of Nicias, an able though rather timid general, who thought that under the present circumstances peace and friendship with Sparta would be of most service to Athens. The party opposed to him was led by Alcibiades, a young noble and kinsman of Pericles, rich, handsome and popular. He was the finest speaker of his day, and kept the best stud of horses. One year he sent no less than seven chariots to the Olympic Games, and won the first, second and fourth prizes. No one at Athens was more talked about and admired. Whatever he did the other young nobles imitated; when he refused to learn the flute because it distorted his face, this instrument went out of fashion. They imitated his lisp, his mode of dress and all his little affectations, and only made themselves ridiculous, since they lacked what made Alcibiades great, real ability, quick judgment and rare military knowledge. He was one of the men who

are born to command ; and had he been as honourable and patriotic as he was clever and fascinating he could easily have led the Athenians to victory. Unfortunately he loved himself better than his country. Alcibiades had very early won a great deal of influence at Athens and in the rest of Greece, and in the year 420, though only thirty-one, he was chosen commander-in-chief instead of Nicias. He used his position to bring about a breach with Sparta and an alliance with Argos,

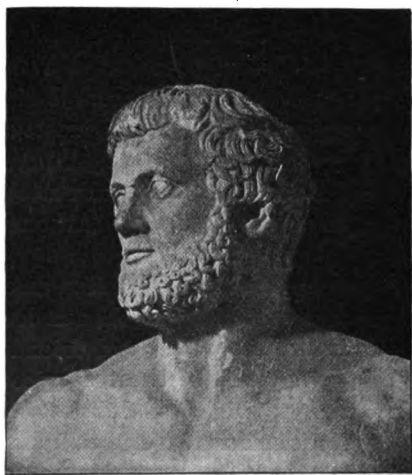


Photo. : Anderson, Rome.

ALCIBIADES.

(From Statue in the Naples Museum.)

Sparta's chief rival in the Peloponnesus ; and perhaps this may have been wise policy, as the friendship between Athens and Sparta could never be lasting. The result of this alliance was that Argos, Elis and Mantinea, the only Peloponnesian states that were not allies of Sparta, now declared war against her, and received some assistance from Athens. But they could make no head against Sparta and, after some fruit-

less attempts, were defeated in a pitched battle near Mantinea. This made the popular party at Argos lose favour; the nobles got the upper hand and made a fresh alliance with Sparta. Elis and Mantinea did the same, and for a while Athens was left without allies, though it was not long before Argos returned to her side.

The first move of Alcibiades had not been very successful, but his influence still prevailed at Athens, and for a time he acted in agreement with Nicias, who had again been elected commander. The caution of Nicias should have been a check on the boldness of Alcibiades, but both lacked the foresight and wisdom of Pericles. At the beginning of the war he had said that he was more afraid of the mistakes of the Athenians themselves than of the designs of the enemy. He himself believed that the Athenians would be victorious, if only they did not try to extend their empire during the war or run into unnecessary dangers. This wise advice was forgotten by the men who came after him, and one cause of the disasters that befell them was their attempt to make fresh conquests while their own dominion was insecure.

The mistakes
of the
Athenians.

Their first attempt of this kind was an attack on the island of Melos in 416. It had once belonged to the Delian League, but had now been independent for several years. Melos held out, and the city was blockaded by sea and land, and forced to surrender. All the men were killed and the women made slaves. It was a brutal act, which increased the unpopularity of the Athenians and so perhaps helped to hasten their downfall. Their success in this small enterprise helped them to forget the advice of Pericles, and encouraged them to plan a far greater and more important expedition, no less than an attack on the rich and powerful city of Syracuse.

Capture of
Melos, 416
B.C.

Hellas in
the West.

Hitherto our story has dealt with two parts only of the Hellenic dominion—Greece proper and Greece in Asia and the islands. But from the earliest times whose history has come down to us, there was a western Hellas as well, and the story of Sicily and southern Italy is really part of the history of Greece. Like the other Greek lands it had its share of the common legends, for many of the old



Sicily.

heroes had come to Sicily in their wanderings. Hither came Heracles with the cattle of Geryon; here he wrestled with Eryx and threw him. Under Mount Etna was the workshop of Vulcan, the fire-god, and when the mountain sent forth fire and smoke, men thought his workmen, the one-eyed Cyclopes, were heating the forge. Aeolus, the lord of the Winds, had his home on the island of Lipara, where Odysseus, the great wanderer of ancient story, had

visited him and received the fatal gift of a wallet full of winds. Here too on the coast of this three-cornered isle he had lashed himself to the mast that he might not yield to the enticements of those dread sirens who charmed the ears of mortals with their songs, and so lured them to their ruin. As he passed through the straits which separate Sicily from Italy, he had to encounter those terrible monsters Scylla and Charybdis. And just beyond was the Isle of the Sun where his comrades disobeyed him and ate the sacred cattle, and so brought upon him the curse that all his men should perish, and he at last reach home late, in evil plight and alone.

Though Sicily was the scene of so many Greek legends there is a good deal of obscurity about its early history. Thucydides tells us of Sicels and Sicans, who divided the island pretty equally between them; but it was not they who made Sicilian history. Its situation in the very centre of the Mediterranean, within reach of Italy, Greece and Africa, rendered it a meeting-place, and therefore also a battle-ground, for several different nations who came to settle on the coast of this fertile island. There were Phoenicians from Africa, who came for trade and planted factories on the west coast; Greeks who came out of love of change or adventure and built towns in the east; and Etruscan pirates, who came from the north to plunder other people. The Greeks were then the only nation who knew how to colonise in our sense of the word, which means, to carry with them the life, manners and religion of the old country and establish them afresh in the new homes. These Greek cities became rich and powerful, and their temples and public buildings could vie with those of the mother country. In Sicily, as in all other Hellenic lands, the cities were naturally classed according to race.

Its early inhabitants.

The Greek colonies.

They had been colonised by different states, and of these Corinth and Euboea had proved most enterprising. The common bond of race was probably more keenly felt by Greeks abroad than by those at home; still there was a good deal of rivalry among the different cities, and plenty of fighting, about which few details have come down to us. As time went on the smaller towns were forced to seek protection from the larger ones. The four most important were Messana (now Messina), Syracuse, Acragas (now Girgenti) and Himera. Each of these wanted to be the chief Greek state in Sicily, just as Athens, Sparta, Thebes and Argos all coveted the first place in Greece. Here, as in the old country, the danger of a foreign invasion drew the rival states together for a time. This danger came from Carthage, the great city in the north of Africa where, according to Virgil's tale, Aeneas of Troy was hospitably received by Queen Dido, until the gods bade him set sail once more, and found a new Troy on Italian land. Itself a Phoenician colony, Carthage naturally sought alliance with the Phoenician cities of Sicily, and watching with alarm the growth of the Greek towns, she determined to try her strength against these dangerous Eastern neighbours. From time to time attacks were made on them with no important results: at last events seemed favourable for striking a bold and decisive blow. Xerxes was planning his great expedition against Greece, and word of his preparations was brought to Carthage. This surely was the right moment for an invasion of Sicily, for the Greeks could not hope to repel a double attack from East and West alike.

The pretext for invading Sicily was furnished by Terillus, tyrant of Himera, who had been driven from his city by Thero of Acragas. He invited the Carthaginians to come and help him, and they came; but we may be sure it was

The
Carthaginian
invasion.



(1)

A, Syracuse.



(2)



(1)

B, Syracuse.



(2)



(1)

C, Catana.



(2)



(1)

D, Leontini.



(2)

SICILIAN COINS.

A (1) Head of Persephone (circa 415).
A (2) Victory and Chariot; below a Trophy.

B (1) Head of Arethusa (circa 400).
B (2) Victory and Chariot.

C (1) Head of Apollo (circa 415).
C (2) Victory and Chariot.

D (1) Head of Apollo (circa 480).
D (2) Lion's Head.

not to interfere with the government of one little Greek town that they sent out their best general, Hamilcar, with 300,000 men to Sicily. He landed at the north-west corner at Panormus, now Palermo, which was one of the Phoenician towns, and from there marched eastward along the coast to Himera. Thero defended the town, and Gelo, tyrant of Syracuse, came to his aid with a large army, which put fresh heart into the defenders. After a while he sallied out and made an attack on the Carthaginian camp. A terrible battle then began, and for a long while neither side seemed to get any advantage. At last Gelo thought of a stratagem. He knew that Hamilcar was expecting cavalry reinforcements from Selinus which was friendly to Carthage, and as these had not arrived, he sent some of his own men round to the back of the Carthaginians, who took them at first for the expected troops. They were now able to charge the enemy in the rear, and thus throw them into complete confusion. The battle turned into a regular slaughter of the Carthaginians. Hamilcar himself perished, how no one ever knew, for no trace of his body was found. According to the tale of the Carthaginians, he stood by the altar of Baal, the god of Canaan, whom all Phoenicians worshipped, and cast victim after victim in the flames to propitiate his deity. At last he turned and saw his men flying; then he threw himself on the blazing altar, offering his own life as a sacrifice for his country. The Greeks believe that this battle was fought on the same day as Salamis, and that one great day delivered Greece from the perils of East and West. Not long afterwards the Northern foe, the Etruscans, were driven out of Sicilian waters.

Bright days were now in store for Sicilian Greece, and in the peaceful years that followed Syracuse continued to rise in power and wealth, for Gelo

made her glorious in war, and Hiero, his successor, made his court the home of poetry and art, as Peisistratus, the tyrant of Athens, had ^{Prosperity of Syracuse.} done before him. For all that Syracuse did not keep her tyrants. Like the states of Greece itself, the Sicilian cities had passed through different stages of government, and in most of them oligarchies had given way to tyrannies. Now came a chance to get rid of the tyrants and turn themselves into free republics. For nearly fifty years they were peaceful and prosperous, showing, like Athens, "how fair a thing is equality". Then a new danger came to threaten them, this time from their own countrymen.

Athens had not had much to do with Sicilian colonisation, for her settlers naturally went east rather than west; but, after the Persian wars, as her trade and wealth increased, her merchant vessels began to cross the Ionian Sea as well as the Aegean. Athenian civilisation was making way even in cities that were not Ionian, and in commerce she had no rival but Corinth. Next to Athens Syracuse, a Corinthian and therefore a Dorian colony, was the largest and richest Hellenic city, and as such an object of Athenian jealousy. An opportunity for interfering with Sicilian affairs was by no means unwelcome at a time when Athens was beginning to covet influence in the West. It happened that a quarrel had broken out between Syracuse and Leontini, and most of the cities had joined ^{Leontini asks} one or other side. The people of Leontini ^{help from} now sent Gorgias, their most famous orator, ^{Athens.} to plead their cause at Athens. No one knew how to value good speaking better than the Athenians, and they went in crowds to hear this celebrated orator. With one accord they resolved to send an expedition against Syracuse. Ships were sent out and met with some slight success, but this was not followed up,

because the second expedition, which sailed under Sophocles and Eurymedon, was detained by Demosthenes to help fortify Pylos. In the meantime Messana, which had come over to the Athenian side, again deserted it. Other cities too began to see how unwise it was to invite even kinsmen from a distance to interfere in their quarrels. A congress met at Gela to discuss the situation. This was addressed by Hermocrates, a Syracusan, who pointed out the danger of letting Athens get a foothold in Sicily. Every one knew that she was always on the look-out for a chance of increasing her empire, and if once she got power in Sicily the Ionians would have to suffer no less than the Dorians. "We Sicilians," he warned them, "are fighting against one another at the very time when we are threatened by a foreign enemy. Knowing this we should be reconciled man to man, city to city, and make a united effort for the preservation of all Sicily. Let us send out of the country the enemies who threaten us, and make peace among ourselves, if possible for ever, but, if not, for as long as we can, and let our private enmities bide their time." The Sicilians approved his advice, and agreed to follow it. They made peace among themselves and kept it till the Athenian fleet was out of sight, but not much longer. A few years later fresh quarrels led to a fresh Athenian expedition.

This time their help was sought by Segesta, which had quarrelled with Selinus and was backed by a party from Leontini who had been driven out by the Syracusans. If only Athens would provide the armament, they said, Segesta would pay all expenses. Envoys were sent to enquire into the situation, and find out whether Segesta was really rich enough to redeem such promises. They had every reason to be satisfied with their recep-

First expedition to Sicily, 425 B.C.

Segesta asks help from Athens, 416 B.C.

tion. The richest citizens vied with one another in showing them hospitality, and they were amazed at the profusion of gold and silver which decked the tables of their hosts. They never seem to have noticed that the ornaments before them were always the same, nor to have guessed that they were passed on from house to house, or even borrowed from neighbouring cities. At the temple of Aphrodite their eyes were dazzled by



Photo. : Alinari Bros., Florence.

TEMPLE OF SEGESTA.

golden offerings, but the gold was silver-gilt and the honesty of the Segestans would stand the test as little as their metals.

After all this sumptuous entertainment the envoys sailed home with a sum of uncoined silver which they showed the Assembly, with glowing accounts of the wealth of which this was but a small instalment. This sum was enough to pay the crews of sixty triremes for a

month, but no more supplies either in coin or metal did Athens receive from Segesta. Her object was gained now that the Athenians had voted an expedition against Syracuse.

Second expedition to Sicily, 415 B.C. The Sicilian expedition was now the one thought in all minds. A good deal of ground had been lost in the East, owing to the skill and eloquence of Brasidas, but the West might have compensation in store for them. Westward ho! became the popular cry at Athens, especially among the brilliant young nobles like Alcibiades who were always ready for adventures and eager to see the wonders of a far-off land. Nicias, the friend of peace and caution, spoke and warned in vain. He was outvoted and forced to join Alcibiades and Lamachus in the command.

The mystery about the Hermes figures. Just before the fleet set sail a mysterious event took place. There were in different parts of the city a number of stone figures, with the lower part uncut and the upper carved in the likeness of the god Hermes. One morning the Athenians were horrified to find that all these images except one had been defaced during the night. Every effort was made to discover the authors of such a sacrilegious act. Suspicion was thrown on Alcibiades by his enemies, and he claimed the right to clear himself of the charge. His accusers knew this was not the moment to get a verdict against the most popular man at Athens and the favourite leader of the Sicilian expedition. They let the matter drop for a while, and the great fleet set sail.

Departure of the expedition. One morning in June the Athenian army set out at daybreak for the Peiraeus, where lay the hundred ships which were to carry them to Sicily. Along with them marched the whole population of Athens, which never lost the chance of

witnessing a fine show. But this sight was not altogether a joyous one, for it meant sad partings from friends and kinsmen, partings that would have been even sadder could they have foreseen the fate that awaited their loved ones. It took a long time for the men to embark, but when at last all were on board there was a solemn ceremony to perform. The rowers grasped their oars in readiness and awaited the word of command. A trumpet called for silence, and then from every ship went up one fervent prayer to the gods to bless this enterprise. When the prayer was ended, libations were poured into the sea, and all present sang the paean as the ships moved out of the harbour, and set out at full speed for Aegina✓

At Corcyra they were joined by the allies as well as the corn-ships and smaller craft. In all there were 136 ships, 5,000 infantry, and 1,300 light-armed troops. The generals now held a final review, and arranged the ships in the order in which they were to anchor at the stations. They were divided into three squadrons, of which the three generals took command. They then struck across the Ionian Sea to Rhegium, on the Italian side of the strait. From here envoys went over to Segesta, and there discovered the trick that had been played on them. All the money left in the treasury was only half as much as had been already sent to Athens. This great armament had been lured to Sicily on false pretences. What was to be done now? A council of war was held at Rhegium, and each of the generals had a different opinion. Nicias, the cautious general, wanted to make a little show of force, and, if possible, bring Selinus to terms, but to run no great risks. Alcibiades, the cunning diplomatist, proposed to win over as many Sicilian states as possible, and then compel Selinus and Syracuse to do justice to Segesta and Leontini. Lamachus, who

Views of
the three
generals.

was a plain, blunt soldier, and preferred blows to words, bade them attack Syracuse at once, before it had time to prepare its defences.

The advice of Lamachus was best, but Alcibiades carried the day, and he managed to win over a few allies to the Athenian side. His plans, however, were suddenly frustrated by the arrival of a ship with orders for his immediate return.

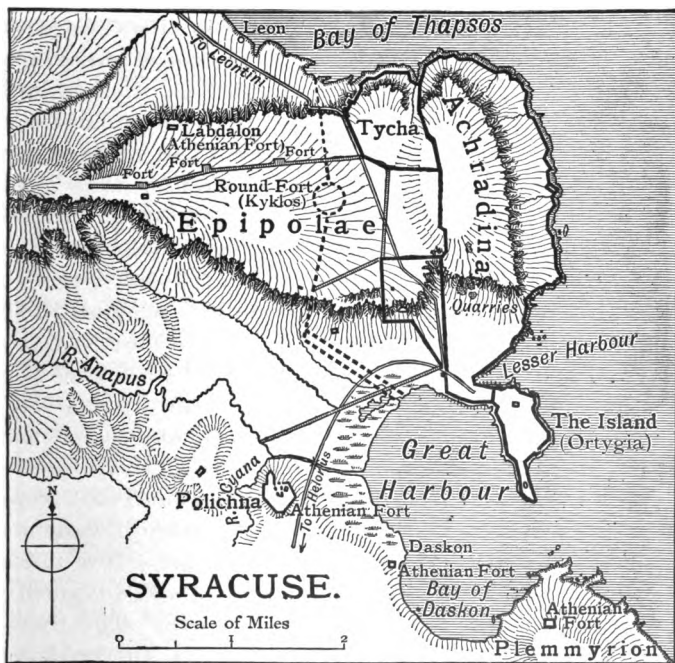
Alcibiades is summoned home.

Since his departure some fresh facts had come to light about the injury to the Hermes figures, and as these were supposed to point to the guilt of Alcibiades, he was recalled at the most critical moment of the expedition to stand his trial. He was not arrested, but told to follow in his own ship. At one of the stopping-places he went on land, and when the time came for putting to sea he was nowhere to be found. At last the vessel that had come for him returned to Athens without him. They tried him in his absence, and sentenced him to death. Since return to Athens had become impossible,

He goes to Sparta.

Alcibiades went to Sparta. He knew of no middle course, and must either fight for his country or against her. To wait patiently in exile like Cimon would have been impossible for him. His departure was a twofold misfortune for the Athenians, for there was no one now to make head against the timid counsels of Nicias, who won a victory now and then, but never knew how to follow it up. And, what was far worse, Alcibiades, from being the friend of Athens, had become her bitterest foe. Hitherto the truce between Athens and Sparta had been observed, though other states were at war; now the Syracusans in their difficulties naturally turned for help to the chief of the Dorian states and ancient enemy of Athens. The Syracusan envoys were allowed to plead their cause before the Spartan Assembly. Alcibiades was present, and added his persuasions to theirs. None knew better

than he the strength and the weakness of Athens. All the energy he would have given to help her was now devoted to her ruin. He gave the Spartans two pieces of advice: to send a general to help the Syracusans, and to seize and fortify a place in Attica itself. They followed his directions in both.



—— Early Walls. - - - - - Athenian Walls. — Syracusan Counter Walls.

Meantime Nicias and Lamachus had divided between them the forces of Alcibiades, and after a good deal of delay they at last made up their minds to attack Syracuse. The town consisted of two parts, of which the older was built on an island called Ortygia (the place of quails), but in the course of time

the narrow sea-passage had been filled up and Ortygia become a peninsula, which jutting out towards the mainland opposite formed the great harbour of Syracuse. To the north the portion of the channel still left open was known as the Little Harbour, and beyond this lay the new or outer city. Here the ground sloped upward to the north, where a long ridge of hills called Epipolae overlooked the whole of the city, new and old. These heights were of course the most important point to defend, since an enemy who held them would gain a very important advantage and almost hold the town at his mercy. The Syracusans had profited by the delay of the Athenians and built a new wall from north to south right across the ridge, which formed a strong defence on the west for both parts of the city. Hermocrates, who had been chosen general, urged the Syracusans to defend this wall with all their might. He reviewed all the forces in a meadow by the river Anapus, and chose out six hundred to defend the heights and be prepared to hasten to any point that might be attacked. That very day and hour the

The
Athenians
begin the
blockade,
414 B.C.

Athenians too were mustering their forces. Cavalry reinforcements had arrived from Athens, and with these Nicias and Lamachus had landed at Leon, a village a few miles north of Syracuse, and were advancing towards Epipolae from the opposite side. The Syracusans, hearing of this, put on all speed in the hope of first reaching the spot, but they were too late; the Athenians were already in possession and drove them down the hill with great loss. From this position the Athenians could attempt a blockade of the town, but to do this they must cut off supplies both by sea and land. The fleet was sent to keep guard at the mouth of the harbour, but to cut off the city by land it was necessary to build a wall to the west of the one

lately built by the Syracusans. First of all they constructed a fort, which would come at about the middle of the wall, and with this as a base they began building to north and south. The Syracusans, being unable to stop them, began to put up another wall at right angles to the southern portion of the Athenian wall, as they hoped from under its shelter to attack the enemy and prevent them from getting down as far as the harbour. The Athenians attacked and took this wall, then the Syracusans built a second one further south. This too was destroyed, but not without a fight in which Lamachus was killed. His loss was a serious one. Nicias, the only remaining general, was ill, and the rest of the work was hindered by delays. The wall was finished on the south, but on the north progress was so slow that before the town was quite cut off Gylippus arrived from

Sparta with reinforcements. He was an able and daring general, a second Brasidas, though without his power of winning affection. Brave and conscientious as was Nicias,

Gylippus is sent from Sparta to help Syracuse

he was no match for Gylippus. Not content with merely defending Syracuse, Gylippus attacked the besiegers and captured their fort. Then he set the defenders to work on a new counter-wall, which was to hinder the completion of the northern portion of the Athenian fortification. It was a race as to which side should get done first, for if the Athenians finished their wall, the town would be quite shut in, but if the Syracusans got done first they could hinder the Athenians from ever finishing at all. Both sides worked well and fought well too, for there were constant little skirmishes between the two building parties. In the end the Syracusans won; they carried their wall across that of the Athenians and beyond, and built four forts to the west on

The Athenians are cut off from the town.

the higher ground, using the very materials the Athen-

ians had got ready for themselves. The result was that the Athenians, instead of the Syracusans, were cut off by land and hindered from getting supplies.

The troubles of Nicias. Nicias, seeing that his schemes to the north of the town were destined to failure, had now fortified Plemmyrion, the little peninsula

which juts out opposite the island and helps to form the harbour. Here he built three forts, in which he placed the greater part of the Athenian stores, and the ships were anchored close by. This plan was not a good one, for the sailors had to go a long way to get forage and water and were exposed to attacks from the enemy's cavalry. Reinforcements also came to Syracuse from Corinth and other places, and the affairs of the Athenians were altogether far from satisfactory. Gylippus was travelling over Sicily in search of allies, the Syracusans were getting together a good-sized fleet, and Nicias felt thoroughly discouraged. The painful illness from which he suffered further depressed his spirits, and his own wish was to return home and rest. As he dared not leave on his own responsibility, he sent a long letter to Athens giving in detail all the events of the siege. He told how the wall of the Syracusans had crossed his own, how the enemy's cavalry harassed the sailors, and how their opponents were manning a splendid fleet, while the

He asks for help.

ships sent from Athens were fast falling into decay. He implored them to recall him and send another general in his place. And if they really desired to take Syracuse they must send fresh troops without delay. The Athenians, in spite of this letter, refused to recall Nicias, but they appointed two generals to assist him, and despatched fresh supplies of money, ships and men.

When the spring came Gylippus took the offensive and attacked the Athenians at Plemmyrion by land and sea.

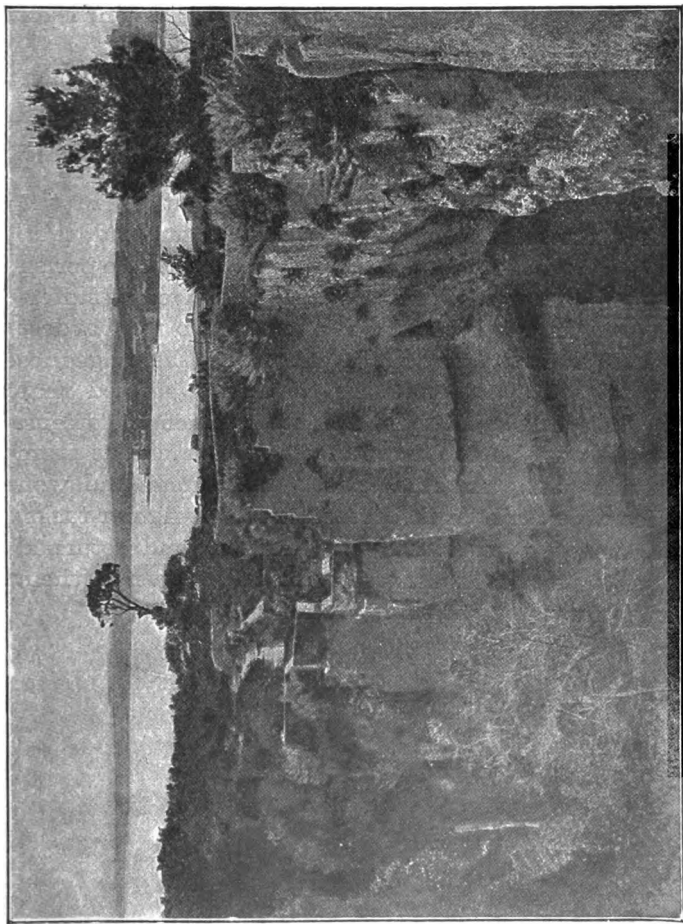
In the sea-fight the Athenians were victorious, but while they were occupied with the ships, Gylippus fell upon the forts and seized all the stores. **Fighting by land and sea.** Without the protection of the forts the fleet could no longer keep its position, and was forced to retire to the northern part of the harbour, where it was shut in by the Syracusans. Demosthenes and Eurymedon were now close at hand, and Gylippus determined to attack Nicias before his reinforcements arrived. He attacked the walls and the fleet simultaneously; oddly enough he was defeated by land and victorious at sea. A few days later Demosthenes arrived with fresh ships. He took over the command and put fresh vigour into the fighting. First he attacked the enemy's counter-wall, then he marched round to their rear, captured a fort and succeeded in driving back their forces. But after a while they rallied and his own troops began to give way. Darkness came on; the Athenians were thrown into confusion and defeated with great loss.

It now became clear to Demosthenes ~~that there was~~ no longer any hope of success. He urged immediate retreat, but now Nicias insisted on remaining, and declared his conviction that Syracuse must yield before long. But when the Peloponnesian reinforcements arrived and sickness broke out in the Athenian camp, and claimed more victims than even the battle had done, Nicias too consented to retreat, and a day was fixed for embarking. On the night before there was a total eclipse of the moon. At that time men had not sufficient knowledge of astronomy to predict such events, and the Greeks believed, as savages do still, that they were signs sent by the gods as a warning of evil. The soothsayers were consulted, and they said the army must remain quiet for thrice nine days. This was just what Gylippus wanted. He made a fresh attack on

the fleet, defeated it and shut it up in the harbour by a barrier of ships moored stem to stern, which made escape impossible. Demosthenes tried to break through this barrier, while Nicias kept guard in the camp on shore. Then followed that great battle in the harbour, of which men talked in the long after years, and told their children and children's children. Both sides fought bravely, the Syracusans for victory, the Athenians for life and freedom. It was in vain. Wherever they turned they were hemmed in by the enemy; there was not space enough to free themselves and no possibility of even approaching the barrier. At last the Athenians were forced to put about; every ship that could free itself from the enemy turned and made for the shore. The troops on land ran down to help them. Sixty ships came safely to shore, fifty were sunk or taken. In vain Demosthenes called on the crews to make one more effort, panic had set in, they cared only to save their lives. Even this boon was granted to few.

The Athenian retreat. There was nothing for it now but to burn the ships, leave the camp and march off north through hilly country to Catana, forty miles off. Even now Nicias could not act promptly. He insisted on collecting the baggage and packing up the treasure, and it was not till the third day that the army made a start. It was too late then. The Syracusans had blocked the passes, broken down the bridges and made the march impossible. All efforts to force the passes were fruitless. The thought of friendly Catana had to be abandoned, and instead they tried to make their way to the interior. Weary, footsore and hungry, they struggled on, until at last Nicias had put some miles between his army and their pursuers. Demosthenes was attacked in a narrow defile. He held out for some hours, then finding him-

self surrounded on all sides, surrendered on condition that the enemy would spare their lives. He tried to



QUARRY AT SYRACUSE, WHERE THE ATHENIANS WERE IMPRISONED.
(From a photograph by Dr. Claude du Bois-Reymond.)

kill himself, but the wound was not fatal, and he too was taken alive. Gylippus now continued his pursuit of Nicias, who had struggled on as far as the river

Assinarus, where his men threw themselves into the stream and fought for the water. Meantime the Syracusans got across to the other bank, and the fugitives were shut in. Many were shot down, then Nicias and the rest surrendered.

This was the disastrous end of that great expedition which had set out from Athens with such high hopes. Few indeed of those who had gone forth three years before saw their homes again. A terrible fate was in store for the prisoners. They were shut up in the stone quarries of Syracuse, exposed to sun and rain, with a starvation allowance of food, to perish miserably, or if they could survive this suffering, to be sold as slaves and do the hardest work for their conquerors. Relentless was the vengeance of the Syracusans, but in one thing they showed that they were Greeks after all, and the kinsmen of Athens. Any person who could repeat a scene or chorus from Euripides, the great Attic poet, whose works had won all hearts in Sicily as in Greece, was set to lighter tasks, and some even regained their freedom and returned to Athens to thank the poet who had delivered them from a slavery worse than death.

The fate of
the prisoners.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DOWNFALL OF ATHENS.

THE first news of this terrible calamity was brought to Athens by a barber from the Peiraeus, who had heard it in his shop; and the angry citizens refused to believe it, and put him to the torture for spreading false information. The news of the Sicilian disaster, 413 B.C. Before long a few soldiers came straggling in, men who had contrived to escape and get a passage home, to bring the awful tale of defeat and despair. For indeed the condition of Athens was now a desperate one. Her troops, ships and money were all gone, and close at home a terrible danger threatened her.

When Alcibiades fled to Sparta after his condemnation, he gave the Lacedaemonians two pieces of advice: to send a general to Syracuse, and to fortify a permanent post in Attica. Alcibiades' advice to the Spartans. The arrival of Gylippus had entirely changed the fortune of war in Sicily, and the other plan was no less beneficial to Sparta and fatal to Athens. In the early stages of the war the Athenians had grown accustomed to the sight of a Peloponnesian invader. The troops would march into Attica about May, remain a few weeks beating down the corn, destroying the fruit and burning any buildings that were still left standing; then they would march away again, and the Athenians, though losing part of their harvest, still had their land to themselves for the rest of the year. Now for twelve years they had been entirely free from these invasions, when,

thanks to Alcibiades, they began afresh, and on a new and far more terrible scale. In March, 413, King Agis marched into Attica, seized and fortified Decelea, a place situated about fourteen miles to the north of the city, commanding a view of the plains of Athens and Eleusis.

The Spartans
fortify
Decelea,
413 B.C.

No place could have been better suited for a permanent post from which to ravage Attica, keep up communication with Boeotia and cut off all intercourse between Athens and Euboea.

For nine years the Peloponnesians held this post, and the garrison made frequent raids into the surrounding country. There was no chance now of any hasty crop escaping the invader's clutches. Sheep and cattle were carried off, and any Attic slave who felt dissatisfied with his condition had but to steal away to the Spartan camp and join in fighting against his old master. Many of these worked in the silver mines at Laurium, which had now to be closed, and some of the temple treasures had to be melted down to get pay for the troops. Supplies from Euboea, hitherto the granary of Attica, could no longer come by the old road, but had to be brought round Cape Sunium, where there was always a risk of falling into the enemy's hands.

In the midst of this sad state of things arrived the terrible news from Sicily. All hope of rescue seemed gone. There was nothing before them but starvation or surrender. How different were the feelings with which the news was received elsewhere! The enemies of Athens in Greece, and her unwilling subjects in the eastern and western seas breathed a sigh of relief when they heard of her humiliation. Now surely the time had come to strike a last blow at this ambitious state. The Peloponnesians hoped to seize Athens and humble her for ever. The islands saw their chance, and threw off the Athenian

The joy of
the enemies
of Athens.

yoke. The Persian king believed that the time for vengeance was come at last, and that the Ionian cities would once more be delivered into his hands. So it came about that Persians, Ionians and Peloponnesians, different as were their hopes and aims, were all united for a season by common hatred of Athens.

The Asiatic allies had long been ready for revolt, and the news from Syracuse put an end to delay. Chios led the revolt, and was helped by ships from the Peloponnesus and Syracuse.

Revolt of her allies.

Other places now followed the example of Chios: Miletus, Teos and Lebedos, Mytilene, Cyme and Phocaea revolted. They forgot that it was to Athens they owed deliverance from Persia, and that Sparta was ready to sell them again to the Great King. For such was the Spartan hatred of Athens that in the hope of humbling her still further they were ready to make a treaty with Persia, once the common enemy of all the Hellenes. Sparta was to recognise the Great King's right to all the dominions which had ever belonged to his predecessors, in return for which he would supply pay for the Peloponnesian sailors. Perhaps Sparta never meant to carry out the terms of this disgraceful treaty, but the fact that she made it at all and took money from Persia shows clearly that Athens was the only patriotic state in Greece, and that her leadership alone could have brought freedom and happiness to the rest.

Treaty between Sparta and Persia.

In these desperate straits Athens had not lost her courage. A reserve of a thousand talents (£240,000), which had been set aside for a great emergency, was touched at last. It was needed for building fresh ships. The noise of lamentation in the city ceased, and gave way to the busy sound of saw and hammer, as the forests of Thrace and Macedonia were gradually transformed in the Peiræus

The courage of the Athenians.

docks into a new fleet of a hundred triremes. Sunium was fortified, all the troops recalled from abroad, and everything put in readiness for a prolonged resistance.

To the great surprise of the Athenians no enemy appeared. In fact the Spartans were, as Thucydides remarks, very convenient enemies, for they so often did what suited their adversaries. Twice during the war they had acted promptly and vigorously, and then they were urged to it by Alcibiades. Now their brilliant enemy was about to withdraw his help. He had deserved well of the Spartans, and expected not only gratitude but also the privileges and indulgences he had enjoyed at Athens. His haughty and insolent manner made him many enemies, and he offered a grievous insult to one of the kings. Little by little his

Alcibiades goes to Asia, 412 B.C. popularity waned, and his enemies began to clamour for his death. Alcibiades, who had foreseen this change, had for some time been seeking friends elsewhere, and even entered into correspondence with Tissaphernes, satrap of Lydia, who was supplying the pay to the Spartan crews. Alcibiades now went to Tissaphernes, and won his favour, gaining so much influence that the satrap was ready to do almost anything his new friend suggested, even to lower the pay of the Spartans and in other ways displease his allies. Strange as the actions of Alcibiades may seem, he had but one aim in all he did, to secure his return to Athens. Sparta, with her ostentation of simplicity and her dislike to all the gentler arts of life, could never be the chosen home of an Athenian, nor could the display and barbarity of an Eastern court really satisfy his heart's longing. At last a way seemed to open for his return. He persuaded Tissaphernes that, in showing so much favour to Sparta, he was making a mistake. If Persia really wanted to get the better of Greece she must not let one

state get too much power. Let Sparta and Athens go on fighting and weakening one another, then Persia could step in and take what she wanted. Sparta was up now and Athens down, this was the time to help Athens. Tissaphernes agreed to the wisdom of this advice, and that is why he suddenly became a niggardly paymaster and, which is far more important, why the Phœnician fleet did not join the Peloponnesian and sail against Athens when she was quite unprotected.

This was the first step towards his return, but the way must be prepared at home too. The Government that had condemned him to death could not be expected to sanction his recall, but if the opposite party were in power they might be ready to undo the work of their predecessors. Alcibiades, therefore, began to intrigue with the oligarchical party at Athens. The democrats had fallen into some disfavour owing to their unsuccessful war policy, and people were beginning to think that perhaps after all the plan of letting every citizen have his say was not the best in time of war and danger. Alcibiades knowing of this change of feeling began to send messages home to his friends, promising to secure some Persian money for Athens if she would get rid of the democracy and put a government in office with whom the Great King would be more inclined to treat. This was a tempting offer, as the Athenians knew well enough that Alcibiades had carried victory with him wherever he went, and that he alone could save them from their present troubles. After a good deal of intriguing, the oligarchs got the upper hand; they summoned the Assembly to meet at Colonus outside the gates, and induced it to give up its powers, to appoint a new Council of Four Hundred, who were to be chosen by five commissioners and not elected, and a body

Change of
government
at Athens,
411 B.C.

of Five Thousand citizens who might in case of need be summoned by the Four Hundred. So far all seemed to be going well, but the conspirators had reckoned without the army. Its headquarters at this time were at Samos, and a revolution was to have taken place here at the same time. But this part of the plan was a failure, and with the help of the troops the Samian democracy was restored to power, and refused to recognise the new government at Athens. They now declared themselves a separate state, and looked for some one to place at the head. Alcibiades, who was not far off and had been watching his opportunity, now disclaimed all connexion with the Four Hundred, and accepted an invitation to Samos. Many of the Samians entertained no good will towards him, but as soon as he arrived he carried everything before him. With one accord the army chose him as their general with absolute powers; let him be their leader and they would overthrow the Four Hundred, then boldly go to meet the enemy, and make Athens free and victorious once more. The moment was a good one. The new government at Athens had been no luckier than the old. The Spartans knowing that Athens was occupied with her own quarrels sent a fleet of forty-four ships against her. Finding the city unprepared they sailed

Sparta
defeats
Athens at
sea.

round Sunium and made for Euboea, where thirty-six Athenian ships, hastily and ill prepared, came out to meet them. The Athenians were defeated, and as soon as the result of the battle was known the whole of Euboea went over to Sparta. This was a serious disaster, since Athens got most of her food from Euboea. So decisive a battle, fought too in Greek waters and almost within sight of the city, made a far deeper impression than even a worse defeat might have done further off. It sealed the fate of the Four Hundred.

The people went out once more and abolished the Council. Then they passed a decree recalling Alcibiades, and approving the action of the army at Samos.

Even before this the tide of war had begun to turn. The Spartans had grown tired of waiting for the good pleasure of Tissaphernes, and saw that they must not depend on his help. But the satrap of Northern Asia Minor, Pharnabazus, had long been anxious to win the friendship of the Greeks. He was a very different man from Tissaphernes, and knew how to keep promises as well as make them. The Spartans very wisely left their old ally and put themselves in the hands of Pharnabazus. As a result they gave up their campaign against the Ionian cities, and attacked the places on the Hellespont instead. Although so far from Athens this narrow strait was of the greatest importance to her, for now that she had lost Euboea she could only get corn supplies from the Black Sea, the very same district in the south of Russia that helps to feed England at the present day. If their ships were kept out of the Black Sea the Athenians at home were threatened with starvation. They were fighting to keep their wives and children from hunger, and they fought well.

Fighting
near the
Hellespont.

Now that the Peloponnesians had left the coast of Asia, the Athenian fleet could leave Samos and sail to the north. They were none too soon, for Byzantium had already fallen into the enemy's hands. The fleets met near Abydos. Victory fell to the Athenians. They lost a great many ships and took but few of the enemy's; still it seemed the beginning of better things, and the news was received at home with great rejoicings. The Peloponnesians were obliged to recall their ships from Euboea to strengthen the fleets at Abydos, but on their way round Athos they were wrecked by a storm at the very

Battle near
Abydos, 411
B.C.

spot where the first Persian fleet sent against Greece had been destroyed. Even without this addition the Peloponnesian fleet was the larger, and in a second battle at Abydos they would have had the advantage, had not Alcibiades come up with eighteen ships at the most critical moment, dashed into the hottest part of the encounter and changed the luck. Yet this battle was not decisive. The two fleets still lay opposite one another: the Peloponnesians at Abydos, the Athenians at Sestos. It then occurred to Alcibiades to pay a visit to Tissaphernes, who had arrived at the scene of action, and see whether he still remained friendly. The reception he met with was not what he had expected. Tissaphernes thought he saw an opportunity of regaining the King's favour, which he had been gradually losing, and determined to send him the most dangerous of the Greeks in chains. Alcibiades was seized and sent to Sardis, but with his usual luck he managed to escape and soon afterwards he appeared near Sestos with six newly equipped vessels. He was just in time to prevent the break-up of the Athenian fleet, which seemed no longer able to keep its position. Reinforce-

Battle of ments now arrived from Athens, and with
Cyzicus, 410 Alcibiades to lead they would venture to
B.C. strike the first blow. They sailed up the Hellespont in several divisions, and at night cast anchor just opposite Cyzicus. Here they rested for one day, allowing no vessels to pass, so that their presence might not be made known on the mainland. Next morning, in the midst of driving rain, Alcibiades advanced with forty ships on the harbour of Cyzicus. The Peloponnesians who were besieging the place were drawn up in front of the harbour. As though alarmed by their numbers the Athenians made a feint of retiring, and the enemy at once started in pursuit. Thus they were drawn on further and further, and presently the rest of

the Athenian ships slipped round behind and cut them off from the harbour. The Peloponnesians then made for the Persian camp on the opposite shore, and this time it was the Athenians who pursued. The Peloponnesians were defeated both by sea and land; the Syracusans escaped on their own ships; many of the rest and a great deal of booty fell into the hands of the Athenians.

It was long since such a victory had fallen to their lot, and great were the rejoicings. Just as great was the despair of the Peloponnesians, who saw the enemy they had thought humbled in the dust restored to strength and ready to meet them both by land and sea. Once more they sent peace proposals to Athens on the terms that each side should keep what it had. Once more Athens refused to hear of any peace unless she herself should dictate the terms.

Sparta proposes peace.

Brilliant as was the victory of Cyzicus it was not decisive. For Pharnabazus was still encamped near the Bosphorus and guarded the two fortresses, Byzantium and Chalcedon, on the right and left of the entrance. As usual

Alcibiades recaptures Byzantium, 408 B.C.

Alcibiades thought of an ingenious plan. He fortified a post just north of Chalcedon at the narrowest part of the strait, where all ships were forced to touch on account of the currents. Here he posted thirty triremes which served as a sort of custom house, and forced every vessel that passed in or out to pay a toll of one tenth the value of its cargo. This served to annoy the enemy, and brought in considerable sums for war purposes. Alcibiades even made raids into the satrap's territory, plundered towns and villages, and carried off prisoners who had to be redeemed with heavy ransoms. After a while fresh troops came from Athens, and Alcibiades now felt strong enough to attack and capture

Chalcedon. There remained the harder task of subduing Byzantium. It was ably defended by a Spartan governor, but the Athenians first tried to starve it out, and then had recourse to a trick. They put the garrison off their guard by pretending to sail away and give up the siege; then they diverted their attention by a pretended attack on one side, which enabled them to make their way in on the other. In this way Alcibiades recovered Byzantium and with it the control of the Black Sea, and at last atoned for the harm he had done his country. Even now he was a little afraid of the reception he might find at Athens. Still, if he ever meant to return, now was the time. He sent on fifty vessels in advance, laden with spoils and prisoners, and behind these appeared a long line of captured ships. Last of all came the trireme of Alcibiades.

**He returns
in triumph to
Athens.**

The sight of the captured ships and the news of his victories were sufficient to ensure his welcome. The crowds that hurried down to the harbour to greet him were as great as those that had trooped out to see the soldiers off to Sicily. Men crowded about him, to put wreaths on his head, to touch his garment, to catch the merest glimpse of their favourite. One great shout of joy and victory went up from the multitude as he passed on his triumphal way to the Acropolis. Cries were heard everywhere for a speech. He was carried to the market-place and lifted on to the orator's platform. Once more the Athenians felt all the power of his eloquence, and marvelled how they could so long have endured his absence. They revoked all the acts passed against him, they broke the stones which recorded his condemnation, they voted him a golden crown of honour, and named him general with full powers by sea and land.

Once more fortune had veered round to the side of

Athens, but not for long. A new general, Lysander, was appointed by Sparta, and a new satrap, Cyrus, the King's second son, took the place of Tissaphernes. Both were able and honest men, with no ends of their own to serve. Cyrus too had inherited hatred of Athens and meant to humble her. When Lysander arrived Cyrus offered him five hundred talents to build a new fleet; if this were not enough he would provide more, even though he were driven to coin into darics the golden throne on which he sat. Soon Lysander found himself at Ephesus at the head of a considerable fleet. Alcibiades took up his stand at Notion to prevent him from putting out to sea. Unfortunately he himself had to go on an expedition in search of money, and left the command of the fleet in inefficient hands. The officer in charge offered battle and was worsted. The harm done was not great, but the Athenians accused Alcibiades of negligence, and very foolishly took the command from him. He retired to his castle in Thrace, where he stayed till the end of the war, and so once more the Athenians lost the help of their best general. The Spartans were almost as foolish. They had a law that no one must hold the same office two years running, and so they recalled Lysander and sent an inferior general in his place. This helped the Athenians to win one more battle. The Peloponnesians were blockading Mytilene, where Conon, the Athenian admiral, had taken refuge with seventy ships. The Athenians hearing this determined to send out at once every ship that could possibly be manned, and every man of full age whether slave or free. In this way they managed somehow to equip and send out 110 triremes. The Peloponnesians, hearing of their approach, left part of their forces to continue the blockade, while they took out the rest to meet the Athenians. A battle was fought off the Arginusae,

Lysander
and Cyrus.

Alcibiades
loses the
command.

a group of small islands to the south of Lesbos. The Athenians got the better owing to their numbers, and took or destroyed seventy of the enemy's ships. But they did not know how to take advantage of their victory. Through their delays they gave the enemy a chance of escape, and they neglected to give help to a dozen of their own ships which had been disabled in the battle, and let them sink with all the crews. When the Athenians at home heard of this they were so angry because these men had been allowed to perish unaided, that they almost forgot to rejoice at the victory. The generals on their return were, to their surprise, accused of negligence, brought to trial and condemned to death. Thus Athens by her own act lost six of her ablest generals, and she had already dismissed the best of all. We almost feel as if she deserved the terrible fate that was so soon to come upon her.

For the end was at hand. Lysander once more had command of the Spartan fleet, Alcibiades was sulking in his Thracian castle, the men who had won Arginusae had been put to death by their own countrymen. Once more Lysander resolved to drive the Athenians out of the Hellespont. He seized Lampsacus on the Asiatic side, and made it his base. The Athenian admiral soon came in sight with 180 ships. They offered battle, but Lysander would not come out to meet them. They waited on at Aegospotami, hoping to force a fight, and the delay made them careless, so that the crews fell into the habit of strolling away in the afternoons in search of provisions. Alcibiades, whose castle was close at hand, observed this and sent a warning to the generals, advising them to move on to Sestos, which would be a more advantageous post. But they took no notice of his suggestions.

Late one afternoon, when the sailors were scattered in all directions, the enemy's fleet put out from Lamp-sacus and rowed across the strait. Before the crews could get back to the ships Lysander was upon them. It was a rout rather than a battle. A number of the men escaped to shore, but Lysander took 170 ships and more than 4,000 prisoners, whom he put to the sword.

This time the end had really come. Athens had lost everything; her ships, her army, her very existence lay at the mercy of Sparta. The news of that fatal battle of Aegospotami was quickly carried to Athens. "That night," says Xenophon, who now carries on the tale, "no man slept, not merely from grief at the past calamity, but from fear of the fate in store for them." Next day the Assembly met, and resolved to make what preparation they could for a siege. Lysander was in no hurry. He waited to receive the submission of the Athenian allies, for he knew that in any case no supplies could now reach Athens, and that she was being starved out even without the presence of his fleet. The battle was fought in September; it was not till November that Lysander appeared in the Saronic Gulf with 200 triremes. The land forces under the Spartan king Pausanias marched into Attica to meet him. Slowly but certainly her enemies were closing in on Athens. Resistance was impossible; it was only a question of terms. The Thebans and Corinthians would have destroyed the city and rooted out the people. Sparta was wiser and more humane. She remembered the great services Athens had once rendered to Greece, and spared her for the sake of Marathon and Salamis. At last terms were made, bitter enough for Athens, yet not fatal. The Long Walls and the fortifications of the Peiræus were to be

Despair at Athens.

Surrender of Athens.

destroyed. The Athenians were to give up all their foreign possessions, to surrender their ships of war, and to recall all their exiles. They were to become allies of Sparta, to follow her lead by land and sea, and make her friends and enemies their own. The Athenians themselves were forced to lend a hand to destroy the walls, and their laments were drowned by the sound of dancing and flute-playing, while their enemies rejoiced and called on one another to celebrate this day as the dawn of Greek freedom.

Hard terms
of peace.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE YEARS OF SPARTAN RULE.

✓ WHEN the pipers played and the people shouted as the walls of Athens fell before their blows, it seemed as though the end of Athenian greatness were really come. Her enemies exulted that tyranny was dead at last, and a new era of freedom had dawned for Greece. When Sparta had declared war twenty-seven years before she had called upon Athens to restore the liberties of the Greeks. This was what the Lacedaemonian ambassadors had demanded when they brought with them Sparta's ultimatum, and it was this promise that had won for Brasidas admission to the cities of Thrace. At last Athens had been forced by defeat and misfortune to grant her subjects the freedom which she would never have given them of her own will. The dominion of Athens had passed to Sparta, and all eyes were anxiously turned towards the state that for the moment held the fate of Greece in her hand.

The greatness of Sparta.

After all the professions and promises of Sparta, her proper course would have been to let each state and city settle its own affairs. But such was not her intention. The opportunity of acquiring an empire of her own seemed too good to be lost, and she did not mean to throw away any of the advantages she had gained in the war. At last she saw her way to take the lead by sea as well as by land, and become mistress of Greece on both sides of the

Her selfish policy.

Aegean. The Spartans were soon to find, however, that it is easier to win an empire than to keep it. Accustomed to a form of government in which a few noble families ruled over all the rest, they had no experience of governing free men and equals. Nor did they know how to deal with a seafaring people like the old allies of Athens, who now came under their rule.

The first thing the Spartans did was to change the form of government in all the cities that passed under their control. They chose ten persons who favoured their views and appointed them magistrates with a Spartan governor, called "harmost," which means regulator. With him they sent a Spartan garrison to force the people into obedience. Every town had to provide a fortified citadel and money to pay the governor and garrison, as well as a large sum which was sent as tribute to Sparta, so they were no better off for having got rid of the Athenian tax-collector.

Of course the worst sufferer was Athens. She was entirely in the power of her enemy, and was forced to put up with the magistrates who were chosen for her. Here a board of thirty was appointed instead of the usual ten. To secure a pretence of regular election it was arranged that one of the pro-Spartan citizens should get up in the assembly and propose that thirty men be chosen to revise the constitution. When one of the citizens rose to object Lysander himself appeared among them, and ordered the people to pass this resolution without delay, if they did not wish to see their city destroyed before their eyes. At this the greater number rose and left the assembly; a few stayed behind and voted for the thirty.

All the power now passed into the hands of these new

magistrates. They did away with the assembly and the public juries, and turned every one out of the council who was in any way opposed to them. They asked Lysander to send them a garrison, and when there were seven hundred Spartan soldiers quartered in the town it would not have been an easy matter to oppose the Thirty. Being now free to do as they pleased, they began to take vengeance on their enemies. Some they put to death after a mock trial, others were sent into exile. Every one strong enough to oppose them must be got out of the way. Alcibiades, of whom they were still afraid, though he was far away in his Thracian castle, could not be suffered to live; and the Spartans contrived his murder by help of the satrap Pharnabazus.

For eight months the rule of the Thirty lasted, a rule of tyranny, lawlessness and murder: then their crimes brought their own punishment. Sparta had soon begun to lose her popularity, when her allies saw that she meant to keep all the fruits of victory for herself. So it happened that when Athenian citizens began to fly in terror from their city, other towns were ready to receive them hospitably. Strange to say, it was Thebes, once her bitterest enemy, that gave Athens the first support against the tyranny at home. A small but growing band of exiles had collected here, and at last they felt themselves strong enough to make a dash for freedom. Led by one of the number named Thrasybulus, they crossed the Attic frontier, and seized the deserted fort of Phyle. The Thirty sent their troops against it, and when these were driven back the exiles took courage to march as far as the Peiræus, where friends from Athens came out to join them. Arming themselves with any implement that came to hand, for their regular weapons had been taken from them, they drew up on rising

The exiles
at Thebes
attack the
Thirty, 403
B.C.

ground and waited for the enemy. Led by Critias, the most wicked and powerful of the Thirty, these advanced up the hill; but the exiles stood their ground, and forced back their assailants. Critias himself was killed, and few can have regretted his death.

This defeat broke the power of the Thirty, and many people now ventured to oppose them openly. Feeling themselves no longer safe at Athens they fled to Eleusis, where they fortified themselves, and then sent to Sparta for help. Here too things had changed and Lysander was no longer all-powerful. Like so many Spartans he had been spoilt by success and his arrogance had made him disliked. Pausanias, one of the kings,

**Pausanias
settles the
Athenian
disputes.**

was his declared enemy and insisted on his recall from Athens. He went himself to restore order there, and that was a good thing for all parties. He fought and de-

feated the exiles, but instead of treating them harshly he invited them to come to terms and let him make peace between the two sides. With the help of fifteen commissioners sent from Sparta he drew up these terms: the exiles might return to Athens; no one was to be punished for past acts except the Thirty and their helpers; Eleusis was to be left as a place of refuge for the partisans of the Thirty who did not like the changes to be made in the government.

**Return of
the exiles.**

As soon as he had made this settlement Pausanias left Attica. Then the exiles with Thrasybulus at their head returned in solemn procession to Athens, and went up to the Acropolis to thank the gods for their deliverance. The citizens met once more in the Assembly and restored the democracy, the only form of government under which Athens could enjoy prosperity. But it took some years to recover the old free spirit, and the new government committed some cruel acts which recalled the base rule

of the Thirty. Worst of all was the trial and death of Socrates, a wise and virtuous citizen who spent his life in teaching the young men and exposing the shams in social and political life. He left many disciples to carry on his teaching, among them the philosopher Plato, and Xenophon the historian.

While Athens was gradually recovering from her terrible misfortunes, Sparta was trying to win for herself the dominion of the Aegean. But this she could not do without the consent of Persia. It was Persian money that

The expedition of Cyrus, 401 B.C.

had helped her beat the Athenians, and of course the Great King expected something in return for his help. The cities of Ionia were to be his share of the bargain. But Darius, with whom the Spartans had made treaties, was dead, and his son Artaxerxes reigned in his place. It was his younger brother Cyrus to whom the Spartan success was really due, and the reward he coveted was something very different. Cyrus aspired to nothing less than the throne of Persia. He had a sort of claim, though he was the younger son, because he was born after his father's accession to the throne, and on this same ground Xerxes, though a younger son, had succeeded his father. Then Cyrus was the favourite of his mother, Parysatis; and as he was a brave man with some noble qualities he won the affection of many Persians who would gladly have welcomed him as their king. But in spite of his wife's endeavours Darius had left the throne to his eldest born, Artaxerxes, and Cyrus now resolved to win by force what he had not been able to gain by favour. He had learnt to admire the Greek soldiers, who seemed to him better and braver men than any to be found in the Persian Empire. If he could but get together a Greek army he thought he would have an excellent chance of success. Clearchus, a Spartan, who had been disappointed in his hopes of

becoming harmost of Byzantium, agreed to raise an army for Cyrus. At that time great numbers of Greeks had been driven from their homes by the wars and changes of the last few years, and these had no means of earning a living but fighting, in which the late war had given them so much practice. Among these Clearchus easily found recruits, and the Spartan government added seven hundred of their own troops.✓

Of course Clearchus knew the object of this expedition, but he was careful not to reveal it to his men. They would have been terrified at the prospect of this long march into the very heart of Asia. Cyrus pretended that he wanted them to help him punish certain hill tribes in Pisidia, which were in the habit of coming down to raid his lands.

It was in the month of March and the year 401 B.C. that the troops of Cyrus set out on their long eastward march,¹ and in June after all sorts of adventures they had got as far as Tarsus.

His march to
Babylon, 401
B.C.

This was a long way beyond Pisidia, and it was becoming quite evident that Cyrus had deceived his army as to the object of the expedition. The Greeks declared that they would go no further, and Clearchus, who of course was in the secret, replied that he would do just as they wished, but could not undertake to lead them home in safety if they offended Cyrus, who was master in these lands. So they let themselves be persuaded by an offer of increased pay, though even now they were not told where they were really going. At Issus on the coast, Cyrus met his fleet and the troops that had been sent from Sparta. They now made their way through a difficult pass, which to their surprise they found undefended, into Syria, and after twelve days' march they came to the great river Euphrates. At Thapsacus, a city on its banks, they halted, and now at last Cyrus told his army the truth, that they

¹ See map facing p. 254.

were marching on Babylon and against the Great King, and promised them generous pay if they would help him win the throne. Of course it was too late to draw back, so they made the best terms they could and agreed to remain with him. They had now to cross the Euphrates, and continue their march on the other bank. Here their road lay through the desert of Arabia, a plain as level as the sea, where grew not a single tree but only wormwood and scented shrubs, the haunt of wild asses, ostriches, antelopes and bustards. After thirteen days in the desert they reached Pylæ on the borders of Babylonia and Media, and here for the first time they came upon the track of the enemy. Though Artaxerxes had let them advance unhindered almost within sight of Babylon, he did not mean them to reach the city. At the little village of Cunaxa, about forty miles north of the town, the two armies met and made ready for battle. Cyrus put the Greek troops on the right wing, the Asiatics on the left, and himself with a squadron of cavalry occupied the centre. Opposite him in the Persian line was the King surrounded by his horse. His army was many times larger than his brother's, but the quick and sudden attack of the Greeks struck panic into the Persians, and put their left wing to flight. Cyrus seeing this believed that the day was already won, and rushed forward with his 600 horse against the 6,000 of Artaxerxes. Here too the larger force gave way before the fierce onset of the smaller; and victory seemed within the grasp of Cyrus. Already men were eagerly pressing round him, each wishing to be first to hail him king, when his own passions ruined everything. On a sudden he caught sight of his brother, whom he hated, and exclaiming, "I see the man," he dashed forward, intending to kill him with his own hand. Thus he was separated

Battle of
Cunaxa.

from his guard, and though he gave the king a slight wound he was himself pierced in the eye with an arrow, and falling from his horse was surrounded and killed.

Victory belonged to the Greeks, but it was of little use to them, since Cyrus was dead and his Asiatic troops already in retreat. What could they do, in the heart of the enemy's country with no one to pay them their dues or lead them back in safety? Artaxerxes called upon them to surrender; but they replied that they had won the battle, and it was not usual to ask a victor to surrender. They were formidable enemies too, and the King was almost as anxious to be rid of them as they were to be gone. Tissaphernes now came forward, and with many professions of friendship offered to lead them back by another route where they would be able to buy provisions on the way. This seemed under the circumstances the best course open to them, so they followed him under Clearchus, and the Asiatic troops whom they had rejoined went under their own leader Ariaeus. Tissaphernes led them north, along the river Tigris, which flows to the east of the Euphrates. They were now in Media, and on their march must cross two rivers known as the lesser and greater Zab. They came safely over the first, and encamped on the banks of the other, not guessing that they had been brought thus far in safety only that they might be more completely in their enemy's power. On pretence of a friendly talk which should lay to rest some suspicions the Greeks had begun to feel, Tissaphernes invited Clearchus with the four other Greek generals to visit him in his tent. They went, and never returned; the captains and soldiers who attended them were killed at once, the generals were sent to the Persian court and there put to death.

Thus Tissaphernes had avenged his master, and paid

off his old grudge against Cyrus. What became of the Greek army mattered little to him; he had led them to a place from which it seemed impossible to escape, and they might die of starvation for all he cared. But first Ariaeus, who had been secretly won over to the King's side, called upon them to surrender. Once more the Greeks gave an indignant refusal. Yet their plight was really worse than it had been after the battle. They were more than a thousand miles from home, their allies had betrayed them, their generals were dead, and there was no one who had the right even to issue an order. Such was the terrible position of the Greeks when night came on and they lay down to rest, but not to sleep. Among the volunteers who had joined the expedition was an Athenian named Xenophon. As he lay on the ground thinking over the sad state of things, he dropped asleep for a while and dreamed a strange dream. His father's house was struck by a thunderbolt, and flames burst forth and encircled it. Then he awoke and wondered at the meaning of the dream. Dreams about fire were sent by Zeus, and this one must be meant as a message for him. The Greeks were girt round with enemies as the house was encircled by flames, but perhaps it might be granted him to find the way out. At this thought he started up. "Why am I lying here?" he asked himself. "Night is passing, and at dawn the enemy will be upon us and will torture and kill us. No one is stirring to help us to defend ourselves. Why should I wait for another man to take action, who is older or else comes from a different city?" He now began to rouse the other captains one by one, loudly crying that the army must be put into a position of defence. He had no difficulty in persuading them, and they proposed that Xenophon should make a speech to the whole assembly, but first they chose four generals to replace

those they had lost, and among these was Xenophon. That was how he came to be the leader in this great march, of which he has himself written an account. For this brave captain afterwards became Xenophon the historian, who took up the thread of history where Thucydides dropped it, and so made a third in that line of Greek writers who have carried down the tale from the earliest days of Hellas till the time when Thebes lost her greatness and Macedonia became the chief state in Greece.

When Xenophon stepped before the assembled army he tried to hearten them by reminding them of the great deeds of their fathers. How often had the gods brought them through the greatest perils! By their help they had driven back Xerxes and his hosts, and they would be helped once more if they would show themselves worthy. Let them burn their baggage waggons and tents, keeping only what was absolutely necessary, and then set out with all speed and make their way back to Greece.

Xenophon's advice was followed; and he has himself told the tale of this march through unknown lands, without guides, and encompassed by enemies. First they crossed the Greater Zab, and their way led them past the walls of ruined Nineveh. After a few days' march they came to some villages where, to their joy, they found supplies of flour, barley and wine, which had been stored there for the satrap's use. Then they had to pass through a difficult mountain region, harassed on all sides by the natives, until they crossed the boundary into Armenia. The satrap allowed them to pass through unmolested with no worse enemy than the frost and snow of these lofty regions. Still they marched on, now harassed by enemies, now worn by cold and weariness, until at last not far from the coast, they came in sight of a city called Gymnias.

Here they met with a friendly reception, and found a guide who promised to lead them to the sea in five days. True to his word he brought them on the fifth day to a hill which they were to climb; and as the men in front neared the top they broke into a shout, which was heard in the rear. Xenophon, fearing that they had fallen in with an enemy, hurried forward to learn what had happened, and soon made out the words, "The sea, the sea". As each man reached the top he too joined in the exultant cry, at the sight of that water which to him meant home and safety. They marked the spot with a great mound of stones, on which they laid sticks, hides and wicker shields, the little that was left them to give as thank-offering to the gods for their great deliverance. Thus the Greeks got back to the sea at last, and made their way to the Bosphorus. Some went home by ship, but many remained behind in Asia, and it was not long before they had another opportunity of fighting against King Artaxerxes.

They reach
the sea.

Sparta sends
troops to
Asia.

The failure of Cyrus was very unfortunate for the Greek cities in Asia, which seem to have been treated like a kind of football between the contending parties. As long as Cyrus was governor of Lydia they had been left in peace, for he wanted the Greeks to be his friends. But now Tissaphernes was restored to favour, and he went back to his old province determined to subdue the cities. He began by attacking Cyme; and the other towns, who knew their turn would come next, sent to Sparta for help. An army was sent, and in this served most of the survivors of the Ten Thousand whom Xenophon had led back. A general named Thibron was in command, but he was not very skilful, and did but little. Dercyllidas, who was sent in his place, was much more successful. He took nine towns in eight days, and

in the province of Pharnabazus collected booty enough to supply a year's pay for 8,000 soldiers. Then he made a truce with both satraps, and sent an embassy to the King at Susa, proposing peace if Artaxerxes would leave the Greek cities free and independent. But his proposals were not well received, for the King had just found a new ally from whom he hoped a great deal. Conon, the unfortunate admiral who had been defeated at Aegospotami, had since then been living in exile at Cyprus. There he met the Greek physician who attended Queen Parysatis, and through him was introduced at the Persian court. The King offered him the command of the fleet which was to be sent against the Spartans. Thus the parties had shifted once more, and now Persia was to help Athens win back some of the power she had helped to take from her.

Persia helps
Athens.

The news that the King was fitting out a fleet to send against her came to Sparta, and caused great alarm. It was determined to send out their very best general, and this was the king Agesilaus. He was one of the old school of Spartans, such as were now seldom found. He was slightly lame, but strong and hardy, and he lived the old simple life, despising riches and making light of hardship. He was a true patriot, ready to serve Sparta in all things, even though he might by so doing win less honour and glory for himself. Xenophon says "that he would not accept the whole earth in exchange for the land of his fathers, nor newly acquired in place of ancient friends, nor base gains ingloriously purchased rather than the perilous pursuit of honour and uprightness".

Agesilaus.

Agesilaus was very proud of being sent against Persia, and thought himself a second Agamemnon sent to capture another Troy. To make the resemblance complete,

he halted with part of his fleet at Aulis to offer sacrifice to the gods, as his great predecessor had done. Unfortunately Aulis was in the territory of the Boeotians, and as they were not friendly to Agesilaus, they sent armed men to stop the sacrifice. That was an unlucky omen, and perhaps Agesilaus remembered it afterwards, when he was stopped in the very midst of his successes.

Agesilaus remained two years in Asia, winning many battles and taking vast stores of plunder and a great many captives. Most of these were sold as slaves, and by the king's order they were stripped and so exposed for sale. When the Greeks saw how soft and white their skins were and how flabby their muscles, because they did so little work and seldom exposed themselves to the sun and wind, they laughed and said they were not worth buying. Thereupon Agesilaus said to the soldiers: "These are the people you are fighting with," and pointing to the spoils taken from the prisoners: "These are the things you are fighting for".

His success
in Asia, 396
B.C.

With Ephesus as his headquarters, he marched now east now west, generally arriving where he was least expected. He drove Pharnabazus out of his own capital, and surprised and took his camp. He beat Tissaphernes so many times that Artaxerxes got angry, and sent some one to behead the satrap as a punishment for his failures. But his successor fared no better. Everywhere Agesilaus carried his victorious arms, and the whole west of Asia Minor was falling into his hands. He even gained some Persians over to his side, and the Ionians at last gave up their distrust of Sparta, and volunteered to serve under Agesilaus. The navy as well as the army had now been put under his command, and he was raising a fleet of 120 ships to oppose to Conon, who had put to sea with 80 vessels, and induced Rhodes to revolt. Agesilaus hoped to carry all

before him by sea as well as by land, but just when he seemed on the road to success he received a summons back to Greece. "I am driven out of Persia by ten thousand of the King's archers," was his explanation, for the Persian daric bore the figure of an archer, and this was the sum that Artaxerxes had spent on stirring up dissensions in Greece.



PERSIAN
DARIC.

Perhaps, after all, it might have been done more cheaply, for there were plenty of grounds for quarrelling. Sparta had been making herself so unpopular since the Persian War that many states were only waiting for an opportunity to throw off her alliance. The more important states, such as Corinth, Thebes, and Argos, were indignant at finding themselves put on a level with inferior cities, and they were ready enough to profit by the absence in Asia of a large Spartan army. The war began with a quarrel between Phocis and Locris, in which Sparta and Thebes took different sides. That gave Sparta a pretext for attacking Thebes. A double invasion of Boeotia was arranged; Pausanias was to advance from the south and Lysander from the north. Thebes now applied to Athens for help, and it was granted.

Lysander and Pausanias had arranged to meet at a place called Haliartus, but Lysander got there first, and without waiting for his colleague attacked the town. The inhabitants sallied out against him and, as some other troops came up just then and attacked him in the rear, he was caught between two fires. When Pausanias arrived he found that Lysander's army was beaten and he himself killed. Almost at the same moment the Athenian troops arrived, and Pausanias was forced to ask for a truce to bury the dead, and to march away without striking a blow. The

He is recalled
to Greece,
394 B.C.

Sparta's
unpopularity.

Sparta's
failure in
Boeotia.

Spartans were so angry that they condemned him to death, and to save his life he was obliged to go into exile for the rest of his days.

It was indeed high time to recall Agesilaus. Athens, Argos, Corinth and Thebes had collected their troops at the Isthmus, and would have marched on Sparta had she not already sent out troops to stop them. The armies met near Corinth; the allies lost most men, but the victory was of no use to the Spartans because they could not drive their enemies from the Isthmus. Happily for Sparta, Agesilaus was now on his way home. He marched at once into Boeotia, and a second **Battle of** great battle was fought at Coronea. Agesilaus **Coronea,** won the day, but he could not follow up his **394 B.C.** victory, and was forced to leave Boeotia and return home by sea. The Isthmus was still blocked and Sparta comparatively harmless, and this gave Athens a chance of recovering somewhat from her misfortunes. It was Conon's fortune to do his native city a good turn. The King had put him in command of a fleet with Pharnabazus as his colleague. Off the peninsula of **Battle of** Cnidus they fell in with the Spartan ships **Cnidus, 394** under Peisander. The Persian fleet was **B.C.** the larger, but still Peisander sailed out of the harbour against it. His chances seemed so hopeless that his Asiatic allies sailed away without striking a blow. On all sides the enemy bore down on his ship and forced it and many others back to land. Some of the crews deserted their triremes and sprang on shore. Not so Peisander. He would neither reverse nor quit his ship, and fell fighting to the last. Thus Aegospotami was avenged by Cnidus, and Persian gold had helped Conon to retrieve the disgrace it had brought on him eleven years before.

Next year Conon and Pharnabazus followed up this victory, sailing about the Aegean and turning out the

Spartan governors. Many of them had already taken flight at the news of the battle of Cnidus. The fleet was hailed everywhere with joy, and the two admirals were welcomed as the liberators of the Greeks. Finally they decided to sail to the mainland of Greece and attack the coast of Laconia. When the satrap himself had to return home he left with Conon men and money to complete the rebuilding of the long walls, and the fortification of the Peiraeus. All hands set to work, as they had done eighty years before, when the Athenians returned home after Salamis. The Boeotians and other neighbours helped them now; such was the change of feeling brought about by the conduct of Sparta. The raising of the walls was celebrated by festivals, and Conon was the hero of the hour. The Athenians set up a statue in his honour, and the memory of Cnidus drove out Aegospotami.

All this time the fighting in Greece was going on. Sometimes one side got the better, sometimes the other, but the days were past when the Greeks could settle their quarrels alone. The Spartans knew that their only chance was to win back Persia to their side. For this purpose Antalcidas, a Spartan, went to the Persian Court to ask the King to help draw up terms of peace and, as by this time all parties were weary of fighting, they at last agreed to the terms proposed. This was the wording of the treaty which was known as the King's Peace: "King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia and the islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus shall belong to him. Further, that all the other Greek cities, small and great, shall be independent, except Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros, which are to belong to Athens as of old. Should any refuse to accept this peace, I, Artaxerxes, will make war on them, with the help of those who are of my

Conon
rebuilds the
walls of
Athens, 393
B.C.

The King's
Peace, 389
B.C.

mind, both by land and sea, with ships and with money."

Thanks to the quarrels of the Greeks themselves, the Persian king, once their bitterest enemy, had been called on to settle their affairs. United Sparta and Athens could have protected the Ionian cities and kept Greece formidable and secure; divided they were obliged to abandon their kinsmen and do the bidding of Persia. It was Sparta who betrayed them at the last, and some of the other states reproached Agesilaus for acting in the interests of Persia. "How sad," they cried, "to see Sparta medizing." "Not so," replied Agesilaus, "rather say that the Persians are laconizing."

CHAPTER XIX.

THE GLORIOUS DAYS OF THEBES.

THE history of Greece, as far as we have hitherto followed it, has been in great measure the history of Athens and Sparta. Now one, now the other, of these two took the lead, and for many years there was a bitter struggle between them for the upper hand. When the Peloponnesian War ended with the downfall of Athens, it seemed as though Sparta were to have things all her own way. But her dominion only lasted thirty years; then she was overthrown by another power, which hitherto had played no very important part in the affairs of Greece. If Argos could boast of

Thebes: Agamemnon, and Athens of her hero-king and founder Theseus, Thebes too had a store of legend which had inspired the verses of Aeschylus and Sophocles. Yet it was a story of sorrow rather than triumph. The city of Cadmus, seven-gated Thebes, had been the home of that unfortunate Oedipus, who guessed the riddle of the sphinx and so became king, and was afterwards driven forth in his old age, blind and helpless, because he had unknowingly killed his father. It was his own sons who drove him out, and for that he cursed them, that they should die at one another's hands. Even their death did not end the curse, for their sister Antigone was put to death for burying her brother Polyneices, in spite of the king's command that his corpse should be cast out to be consumed by dogs and birds of prey.

Nor had the part played by Thebes in historic times been much happier. We know her chiefly in history. through her cruel treatment of Plataea and the base part she played in the Persian wars, when she threw in her lot with the invader. In the Pelopon-



CADMUS AND THE DRAGON.

(From a vase-painting at Naples.)

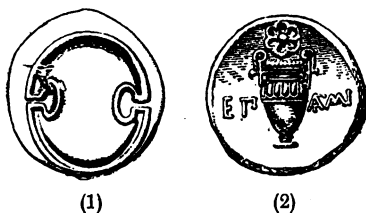
nesian War Thebes had sided with Sparta, and had urged Lysander to treat Athens with harshness. But after the restoration of peace, when Spartan insolence had cooled the goodwill of her allies, Thebes changed sides, and in fact was the first place to offer the Athe-

nian exiles a refuge. But for her they might not have got rid of the Thirty, so Athens owed Thebes a debt of gratitude.

This change of policy at Thebes was partly due to distrust of Sparta and partly to the rise of a patriotic party which desired to restore Thebes to her old independent and powerful condition. To this party belonged the sons of some of the noblest houses, and the two who were destined to play the most important part were Pelopidas and Epaminondas. Epaminondas belonged to one of the six clans who claimed descent from the warriors sprung from the dragon's teeth

The patriot party.

Epaminondas.



COIN OF EPAMINONDAS.

(1) Theban Shield. (2) Wine-jar (*amphora*), with *Epami(nondas)*.

which Cadmus sowed. Though ancient his family was poor, yet not too poor to offer a home to a wise man who had been driven by many troubles from his home in southern Italy, and fled for refuge to Greece. From him Epaminondas learned all manner of wisdom, and, what was best of all, to be true and good, to despise riches and self-indulgence, and to think more of his country and his friends than himself. As he grew to manhood the desire became stronger to devote himself to the good of his native city, and raise her from the low place to which she had fallen. His hopes were shared by his friend Pelopidas, and these two gathered about them a number of others who thought as they did.

Indeed it was time for her best sons to come to the aid of Thebes. After the peace she had been forced to break up the Boeotian League and leave the cities free and independent. But though Sparta compelled the other states to carry out the terms of the treaty, she refused to do so herself. She not only kept all her former conquests, but even made unprovoked attacks on places that had done her no wrong, such as Mantinea in Arcadia, and sent an expedition against those very Thracian cities that Brasidas had delivered from Athens. The excuse was that they had formed themselves into a league under Olynthus, and Sparta would not allow any alliances in Greece except her own. Worst of all was her unprovoked attack on Thebes.

The aggressions of Sparta.

Phoebidas, the Spartan general who was sent to Thrace, had on his way to march through Boeotia. While he was encamped near Thebes, he received a visit from Leontiades, leader of the pro-Spartan party in that city, who offered to deliver up the citadel into his hands. Just at that time the Theban women were celebrating a solemn festival in the temple of Demeter on the citadel, and the gates had been closed on them as was the custom. The key was in the hands of Leontiades and he promised to hand it to Phoebidas. It was hot noonday and the streets all but deserted when he stole out of the town, hurried after the Spartans and led them right up to the citadel, before any one suspected what was happening. The citadel was in their power and they held the women as hostages, so the Thebans made no attempt at resistance. Three hundred of the leading members of the opposite party fled to Athens. As for the Spartans at home they welcomed this unexpected piece of good fortune, and voted to retain the Cadmeia, as the Theban citadel was called,

Spartans seize the Cadmeia, 387 B.C.

though they fined Phoebidas for taking it without orders.

Among the Thebans who fled to Athens was Pelopidas. Though one of the youngest he was as brave and earnest as any, and he never gave up the hope of some day returning to Thebes, and helping to drive out the Spartans. Often he used to discuss his plans with his fellow exiles. "Surely," he would say, "it is both dishonourable and impious to leave our native city enslaved and garrisoned by an enemy, while we are content with saving our own lives. Why not imitate the courage and patriotism of Thrasybulus who marched from Thebes to crush the tyrants at Athens? Let us in our turn set out from Athens to deliver Thebes." The others lent him a willing ear, for they too were ashamed of leaving their citadel in the enemy's hands. They sent private messages to their friends at home, and learned that there were not a few citizens who would take their part if only some one would lead the way.

At that time the government of Thebes was in the hands of four magistrates, of whom two held the rank of general. They were supported by 1,500 Spartan troops, and by other garrisons in the neighbouring towns. Yet a dozen patriotic Thebans believed they could overthrow this power. Luckily they had Phyllidas, the secretary of the generals, on their side, and as he was sent to Athens on business, he was able to arrange a plot for turning out the Spartans. The generals were just at the end of their term of office, and Phyllidas was to give a supper party in their honour. This was the night chosen for carrying out the plot. The Theban exiles set out in a body from Athens, but the greater part were to wait at the frontier while Pelopidas and six others went on to Thebes, disguised as huntsmen, and carrying no arms

Plot to
recover the
Cadmeia, 379
B.C.

but a dagger. They managed to slip into the city unobserved just when the latest farm-labourers were coming from the fields, and made their way safely to the house of one of the conspirators. There they remained hidden all night and great part of the next day. That evening Phyllidas received his guests, and set a splendid feast before them. While the cups went round and the company grew merry, a messenger was brought in who said that he must speak with Archias, as he was the bearer of a letter from Athens with matters of the gravest import. "Business to-morrow," cried Archias, already half tipsy, and slipped the letter under his cushion. A few minutes later Phyllidas announced the arrival of some women who had been invited to entertain the guests. These were the conspirators in disguise. They were dressed in long flowing robes, as was the custom of Greek ladies, with veils over their faces and wreaths on their heads. As soon as they came near the generals they raised their veils and drew their daggers, and killed them both before the guests could recover from their surprise. Then with the help of Phyllidas they killed the two other magistrates in their own houses. All this happened so quickly that most of the citizens were quietly asleep. They were roused by the sound of trumpets to learn that their rulers were murdered, the prisoners at liberty, and that all Thebans who loved freedom were at once to muster in arms in the market-place. One of the first to appear was Epaminondas. He had taken no part in the murder, but was more than willing to help turn out the Spartans.

At daybreak when the rest of the exiles had entered the city, Pelopidas and his friends appeared, surrounded by priests carrying garlands in their hands, and called on the citizens to fight for their gods and their country. With one voice the assembled people greeted their deliverers. Pelopidas

The Spartans
have to retire
from Thebes.

was made governor, and prepared to assault the citadel, but the Spartan officers surrendered without striking a blow. They were allowed a free passage out of the city and marched back in safety to Sparta.

Here the feelings of the people were divided between surprise and indignation. To surrender without striking a blow seemed a deed unworthy the descendants of the heroes of Thermopylae. King Cleombrotus at once led out an army, but he met with no success and returned to Sparta after sixteen days with most of his troops. The rest were left behind at Thespieae under a harmost named Sphodrias. Feeling ashamed of the part played by the Spartan officers at Thebes, and perhaps encouraged by seeing what a few bold men had been able to do,

**Sphodrias
attacks the
Peiraeus, 378
B.C.**

he hit upon a daring plan. He meant to attack the Peiraeus on the land side, in the hope of seizing the ships and striking a blow at the trade of Athens. Early one night he set out, hoping to reach the Peiraeus by daybreak. But his calculations proved wrong. When morning dawned he was still several miles away, and the rumour of his approach had reached the city. He turned back, but made matters worse by ravaging Attic territory as he marched through. Sphodrias was summoned home to stand his trial, and he could not expect much mercy, for even Phoebidas, who had been successful, was fined for seizing the Cadmeia without orders. To the surprise of every one and the indignation of the Athenians, Sphodrias was acquitted. It was the old king Agesilaus who pleaded for him. "Sphodrias is guilty, without doubt," he said, "yet it is hard to put to death one who as child, youth and man has lived an honourable life, for Sparta needs such soldiers." The acquittal of Sphodrias could have but one result. Athens entered into alliance with Thebes and declared war on Sparta.

Athens had made good use of the twenty-five years that had passed since she had been forced to pull down her walls. She had set her house in order and rebuilt her fleet, and the growing anger against Sparta had helped her to form a new league. First Chios, Byzantium, Mitylene and other places in the east joined it, then came the cities of Euboea, and at last her former enemy Thebes. This time the Athenians were careful not to make their old mistakes. They did not interfere with the meetings of the members, and they called the money furnished a "contribution" instead of a tribute. This new league was directed against Sparta, and its purpose was "to force the Lacedaemonians to let the Greeks enjoy peace in freedom and independence, with their lands undisturbed."

The revival
of Athens.

The war was carried on at sea by Athens and on land by Thebes. Thebes had to act chiefly on the defensive, for the Spartans were constantly trying to invade Boeotia, though each time they were driven back. The third time the passes over Mount Cithaeron were so completely blocked, that the invaders were unable to make their way. The Thebans took advantage of this opportunity to turn the Spartan garrisons out of the other towns, and bring the whole of Boeotia back into their power.

Fighting
between
Sparta and
Thebes.

Meantime Athens had attacked Sparta by sea. Chabrias, an able admiral, was sent out with a hundred ships. Sparta, not having been able to do Thebes much injury, now attempted to cut off the Athenian supplies, and had sent out a fleet to block the way of the ships that were bringing corn from the Black Sea. Near the southern point of Euboea the enemy's fleet got in front of them, and completely blocked their way to Cape Sunium. Chabrias now sailed to Naxos, which had lately deserted

Sparta and
Athens.

from the League, and set siege to it, hoping thus to draw off the Spartan ships. As he had expected they at once made for Naxos. In a sea-fight the Athenians were victorious. This was better even than Cnidus, for there Athens had been helped by Persia; this time she had conquered alone. Once more men's hearts beat high with hope; surely the great days of Athens were returning. Seventeen fresh cities joined the League, and the war went on for another three years. There was a good deal of fighting near Corcyra, in which the Athenians usually got the better, but all parties were tired of fighting, and in the year 371 invitations were sent out to a peace congress at Sparta. All the allies on both sides sent delegates, and so did Persia, which now claimed a right to be consulted on Greek affairs. Agesilaus was the spokesman for Sparta. Athens sent some of her finest speakers, and Epaminondas represented Thebes. The Athenians began the debate by reproaching Sparta for her seizure of the Cadmeia and other arbitrary actions. While pretending to stand up for liberty, she was herself playing the tyrant. Still they were willing to make peace if such was the general wish. But it must be peace on equal terms. Half the states were for Sparta, and half for Athens, and besides all the separate cities had their Spartan and Athenian parties. The wisest course for both would be to join hands. "As long as you are our friends no one can hurt us by land, and while we support you, no one can injure you by sea."

Accordingly they agreed to make peace on the old terms that every Hellenic city should be free and independent. Of course this should have compelled both Athens and Sparta to dissolve their leagues, but there was a silent understanding that they would do nothing of the sort. Only they would not allow any other state to imitate

their example. Both were especially jealous of the Boeotian League which Thebes had now formed again, but Epaminondas had every intention of making the best terms he could for Thebes. When his turn came to sign he claimed the right to do so on behalf of all Boeotia. The Spartans would not hear of it. Epaminondas held out. At last Agesilaus, who was presiding, asked him angrily: "Will you leave each of the Boeotian cities independent?"

To which Epaminondas retorted: "Will you leave each of the Laconian cities independent?" Agesilaus sprang up in fury and struck the name of Thebes out of the treaty. Her crime was that she had become a third great power in Greece, and for this both Athens and Sparta were prepared to punish her. Thus the peace congress ended in fresh fighting.

This no doubt was what the Thebans expected, and never had their state been better fitted to enter on a serious war. Their army was in splendid condition, and their two great generals had completely changed their methods of fighting. Directly after the expulsion of the Spartan garrison efforts had been made to improve the army. The best citizens now entered it of their own free will, and went through a regular system of training; and a new troop was formed called the Sacred Band, composed of three hundred youths belonging to the noblest families, and chosen from the best wrestlers in the gymnasium. This troop was so arranged that each soldier had his best friend beside him, for it was thought this would make them resolve to conquer or fall together. This Sacred Band was quartered in the citadel and kept constantly under arms at the public expense. As they always drilled and fought together, and gave their whole hearts to their work, they became almost invincible at last, and carried victory wherever they went.

ends in a
fresh war
with Thebes

Excellence of
the Theban
army.

At the time when this fresh war broke out Pelopidas was captain of the Sacred Band and Epaminondas general of the whole Theban army. He made ready at once to meet Cleombrotus, who was preparing to march on Thebes, expecting to take it without difficulty and raze it to the ground as a punishment for aspiring to be the equal of Sparta and Athens. But Epaminondas was more than a match for him. He had fought often enough against the Spartans to know their methods of fighting, which were always the same and had undergone no change for many generations. Their custom was to fight in a long line, the whole of which joined at once in the attack. Knowing this, Epaminondas arranged his troops in a wholly different fashion. He made one part of his line much stronger than the rest, and by this means he hoped to attack one portion of the enemy with great violence and so if possible break through their line and throw their ranks into confusion. This time he made the left wing fifty deep, with the Sacred Band at the end of the line. He wanted the chief strength on this side because it would be opposed to the Spartan right, where the king and the best soldiers were always stationed. If he could put these to flight the battle would be won.

The Spartans advanced on the road to Thebes as far as Leuctra (see map p. 182), which lies on the hills to the south of a small plain, over which the road passes. Here they caught sight of the Theban army drawn up on a hill opposite. Between the two lay the plain. Cleombrotus at once led down his right wing, and Epaminondas with his left came down from the opposite hill to meet him. The Spartans, who had a wider front, hoped to get round to the back of their enemy and attack them on both sides. Epaminondas waited till they had advanced a little, then he threw his massed troops against the Spartans opposite.

**Battle of
Leuctra, 371
B.C.**



At first they stood their ground unmoved, but at last the Thebans made their way through sheer weight. The Spartan line broke, the Thebans poured in among them and the day was theirs. The king himself was slain, and round him fell no less than four hundred Spartan citizens, besides many provincials and allies. It was the worst defeat that Sparta had ever suffered.

The battle of Leuctra raised Thebes to the leading place in Greece. Even in the south its effects were felt, for Sparta was not really loved even in the Peloponnesus, and it was fear that kept the states in subjection to her. Several now turned to Thebes for help against Sparta. Arcadia was the first to revolt. The Spartans had recently pulled down the walls of Mantinea, and forced the people to leave the town and live like peasants in the villages. Now they took courage to build up their walls again. The revolt spread to the rest of Arcadia, and the people resolved to revive the ancient Arcadian League. To prevent any quarrelling about the seat of government, they arranged to build a new capital, which they called Megalopolis (the great city), in which there were to be settlers from all the Arcadian towns. In order to protect them while they were building the city, Epaminondas led an army into the Peloponnesus in the year after Leuctra. The Arcadians, Elians and Argives joined him at once, but the other states either remained neutral or stood by Sparta. Epaminondas had hit on the bold plan of marching straight on Sparta. Never since the Messenian Wars had an enemy approached her gates, and the women fell to weeping when they caught sight of the smoke from the enemy's camp. But the old king Agesilaus did not lose heart. He promised freedom to all helots who would fight

The greatness of Thebes.

Epaminondas helps the Arcadians

and Messenians.

for Sparta and made ready to meet the Thebans. And
He marches now it proved that Sparta was right in her
on Sparta, belief that her citizens would be a better
370 B.C. protection than walls, for, though the city
 was wholly unfortified, Epaminondas could nowhere
 force an entrance. He made no attempt to blockade
 the town, for he knew he could deal a harder blow
 elsewhere. He marched off to the west, burning
 villages on his way, then he crossed Mount Taygetus
 and entered what was once Messenia. There he was
 met by the descendants of the old Messenians, who
 were hastening thither from all parts, some by sea,
 others by land, in hope of finding a home again in
 the old country. On Mount Ithome, where the hero
 Aristodemus had his last stronghold, he laid the
 foundations of a new city, which was called Messene.
 From this time forth Mount Taygetus was, as of old,
 the western boundary of Laconia.

Thus far the Thebans had come forward as defenders
Growing of the weak, except in the case of poor little
jealousy of Plataea, which had been again destroyed
Thebes. after it had been rebuilt by Sparta. But
 now that it appeared how strong they were, the other
 states began to feel alarmed. It was the same as had
 happened in the case of Athens. As long as she was
 fighting their battles for them they were willing
 enough to remain her allies, but as soon as she tried
 to improve her own position and expected their help
 in return, they began to cry out against her tyranny.
 What they most resented was an appeal to Persia for
 help. A new treaty was made in which the terms
 specially favoured Thebes, but the other states refused
 to ratify it. Even those whom she had helped most
 looked upon her as something of an upstart, and were
 determined that, whatever benefits she might confer on
 them, they would not submit to her dictation.

So the war went on. In 367 Epaminondas made a third invasion of the Peloponnesus, but without much

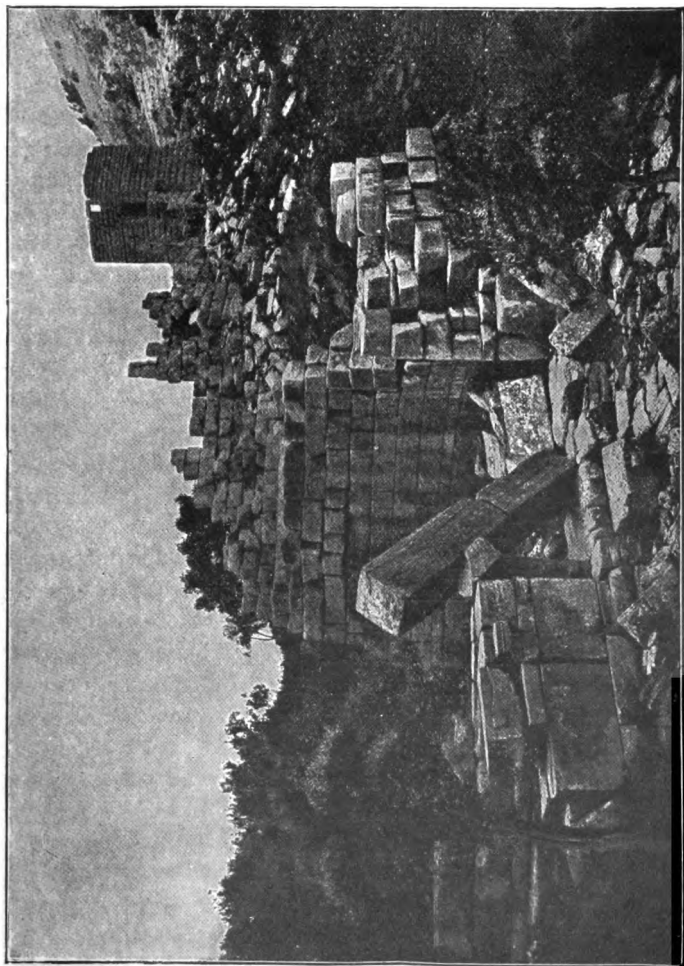


Photo. : S. C. Atchley, Athens.

MESSENE : THE ARCADIAN GATE AND WALLS.
See also p. 57 for a picture of Ithome.

success. Elsewhere the Thebans were more successful. In Thessaly Pelopidas had helped some of the cities to

revolt against the lord of Pheræ who was trying to subdue the whole country. He won a brilliant victory, but himself fell in battle. In Boeotia Thebes had quelled the last attempt at rebellion. A fleet had been built, and several of the Athenian allies stirred up to revolt. Everywhere except in the Peloponnesus the power of Thebes was supreme. Then in 362 Epaminondas started on his fourth and last expedition to the peninsula. He was joined by Argos and Messenia and one portion of the Arcadians. Even their fine new city had not kept them from quarrelling, and one set joined Thebes and the other Sparta. Epaminondas now advanced to the friendly city of Tegea and drew up his army here out of sight of the enemy. Agesilaus had meantime marched out in another direction, leaving only a few soldiers behind to defend the city. This left the road from Tegea to Sparta open, and Epaminondas at once set out hoping to surprise the city. But some one had brought word to Agesilaus, and he turned back and was just in time to prevent the entrance of the Thebans. Epaminondas now retired and resolved to make a dash for Mantinea, but some Athenians who had been sent to the assistance of Sparta, arrived here first and drove them back on Tegea. They were soon joined by the Spartans and their Arcadian allies, and the Theban general resolved to give battle here. Both armies were in full force. The Thebans with their allies numbered 30,000, the Spartans about 20,000. Numbers of course counted for something, but far more important was the generalship. Epaminondas began by throwing the enemy off their guard. He did as though he were about to encamp, then suddenly brought his attacking force into line, thus taking the Spartans unawares. "Some," says Xenophon, "began running to their divisions, some fell

Pelopidas in the North.

Epaminondas in the South.

Battle of Mantinea, 362 B.C.

into line, some might be seen biting and bridling their horses, some donning their cuirasses, and one and all like men about to receive rather than inflict a blow". Epaminondas followed the plan that had been so successful at Leuctra. Once more the troops massed on the left wing put to flight the enemy's right. Once more Thebes was victorious, but the price of victory was the life of her greatest citizen. Epaminondas lay dead on the field of Mantinea. There was no one to take his place. As he lay dying he had called for the two men who should have succeeded him in the command. He was told that both were killed. "Then," said he, "make peace with the enemy." Thus perished Epaminondas, and with him the greatness of Thebes.

Death of
Epami-
nondas.

CHAPTER XX.

THE RISE OF MACEDONIA.

FAR away in the north-east of Greece, beyond Thessaly, and on the road to the cold regions of Thrace, Macedonia. lay the kingdom of Macedonia. Though the people who lived here were partly of Greek stock, their southern neighbours looked on them as little better than barbarians. For Macedonia lay outside what was properly called Greece, and had been little touched by the course of her history. While the other states had been changing and expanding and trying fresh methods of government, Macedonia had remained much as it was in the old Homeric days. No democracies, or oligarchies, or tyrannies had been seen among these northern hills. The kings were still, as of old, judges, generals, and priests, and ruled with the help of the leading nobles, called Companions, who served as a body-guard in war and attendants and counsellors in peace.

But for its situation on the land route to Asia we should hardly have heard the name of Macedonia at all before the present period. When Megabazus was left in Europe by Darius after the Scythian expedition, Amyntas, king of Macedonia, sent him earth and water in token of submission, and for many years it remained a part of the Persian Empire. In 480, when Xerxes invaded Greece, Alexander, king of Macedonia, joined him with his army; and after the battle of Salamis he remained faithful to Persia, and even carried a message from Mardonius to

the Athenians advising them to make terms with the Great King. In the Peloponnesian War Macedonia was the road by which both Sparta and Athens had to pass to their fighting ground in Thrace, and its kings played fast and loose, and changed sides according as it suited their interest at the moment. Not long after the battle of Leuctra, Thebes, then anxious to extend her influence in Greece, had an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Thessaly. Here two rival parties were quarrelling for the mastery, and one side called on Thebes for help and the other on Macedonia. Thus these two states were brought into direct conflict. Macedonia just then could do very little, for it was disturbed by its own quarrels. Alexander, the second king of that name, had been murdered and a number of pretenders were laying claim to the throne. Pelopidas marched north, took the settlement of affairs in his own hands, set Perdiccas, Alexander's brother, on the throne under a regent, and carried off Philip, the youngest of the brothers, as a hostage, with several other young nobles. Thus Philip came to Thebes as a boy of fifteen and nothing better could have happened to him; for he was able to complete his education in the best military school in Greece. Here too he learned many other things unknown in Macedonia. For these were the great days of Thebes, when Pelopidas and Epaminondas led the army and the Sacred Band was at the height of its fame. Among such men the half barbarian prince could learn the best lessons Greece had to teach; and what he learned during those three years we may be sure he never forgot.

Quarrels
for the
succession.

Philip is
taken as
hostage to
Thebes.

When Philip returned home in 364 he found that Perdiccas had murdered the regent and taken the government into his own hands. Philip was now entrusted with the management of one district, and here

Philip becomes regent, 359 B.C., he was able to put into practice some of the lessons he had learned at Thebes. When Perdiccas was killed fighting against the Illyrians, a fierce nation on the west who were the most dangerous enemies of Macedonia, Philip had to act as regent for his young nephew Amyntas. It was no easy matter to govern the kingdom on behalf



COIN OF PHILIP.

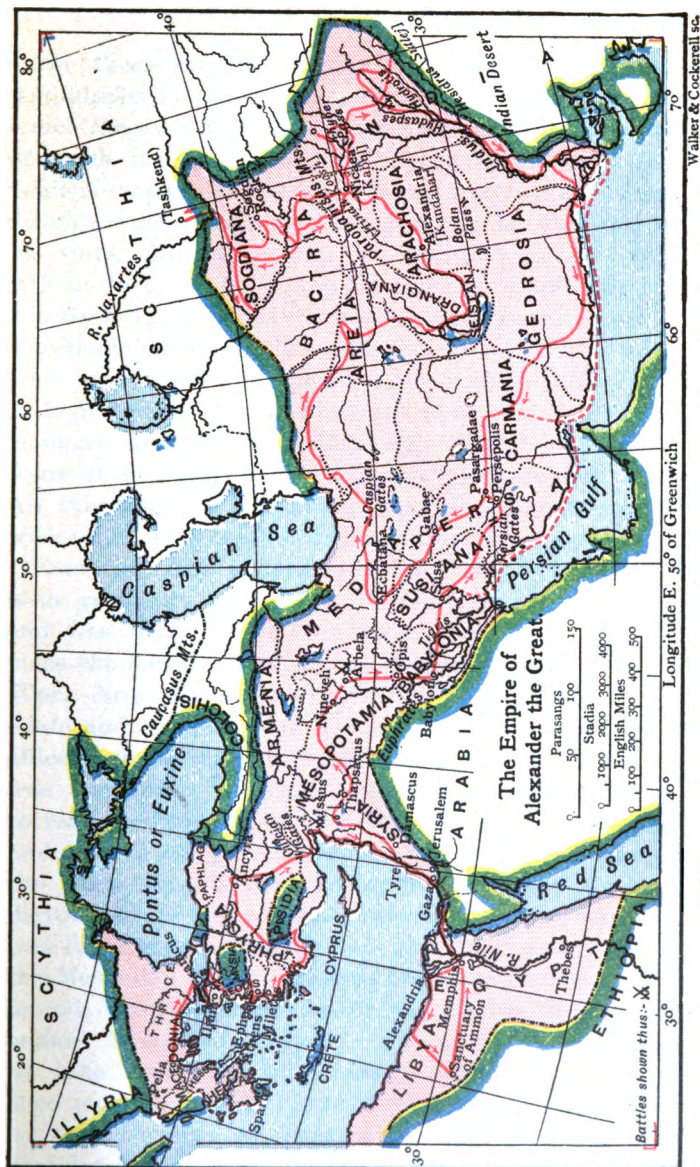
(1) Head of Philip.

(2) Chariot with "Philip" (*Philippou*).

of a child. There were no fewer than five pretenders to the throne, and on three sides the hostile tribes had taken advantage of the dissensions in the kingdom to attack Macedonia. Before and then king. long Philip dropped the title of regent and called himself king; and the nobles gladly consented to the change, for Macedonia needed a strong man at the helm. Indeed none could have been better fitted than Philip for the task before him. He could speak as well as he could fight; he knew when to win friends by persuasion and when to strike down his foes in battle. Some of his enemies he conciliated, others he defeated, and all the time he was perfecting his army and making it a suitable instrument for the work that lay before it.

It was Philip's interest to keep at peace with the rest of Greece till he had restored order at home, but he could hardly avoid a conflict with Athens. She still held some possessions in Thrace, and had never ceased trying to re-

He captures places in Thrace, 357-56 B.C.



cover those she had lost in the Peloponnesian War. Amphipolis in particular, a city of her own founding which Brasidas had taken from her, had been the cause of much heart-burning. Philip coveted it as a convenient seaport, and because it was near a rich mining district, whence he hoped to get money for carrying on his wars. But as he did not want to quarrel with Athens just yet, he pretended that he would help her win back Amphipolis in exchange for Pydna, a port in Macedonia hitherto held by the Athenians. It was only a trick; and when the Athenians were engaged elsewhere he kept possession of both Amphipolis and Pydna, and managed also to secure Potidaea which had been the scene of so much fighting in the Peloponnesian War. All this time the Athenians were too much occupied with other wars to offer any real resistance.

Ever since the expulsion of the Thirty, Athens had been gradually recovering her old position, and was little by little winning back the place she had held before the Peloponnesian War. Now that she had rebuilt the navy and put her trade and commerce on the old footing, many former allies had come back to her, and her power by sea was once more growing. There was no need now to fear Sparta even on land, for the battle of Leuctra had broken her power once for all. With Messene on the west, Arcadia arrayed against her, and Corinth, Sicyon and the rest all independent States, her dominion was little greater than it had been in the days before the Messenian Wars. Thebes alone was a rival to be feared, but it was no longer the Thebes of Epaminondas. It seemed as though Athens were again about to take the lead in Greece. Unfortunately, she once more forfeited the good-will of her island allies by treating them as little better than subjects. The best lands had been given to Athenian citizens, and

Position of
Athens.

when the allies helped to furnish troops, they had their full share of the fighting but very little of the plunder and rewards. The result was a fresh revolt.

Her allies Rhodes, Cos and Chios began it, and they
declare war, were helped by Mausolus, king of Caria,
357 B.C. whose name is familiar to us because of the great tomb called Mausoleum, which his wife built in his honour. Ever since Sparta had abandoned the Ionian cities by the terms of the King's Peace, the satraps and princes on the coast of Asia had been on the watch to seize the neighbouring islands. Mausolus now saw his opportunity; he encouraged the revolt, and sent some ships to join the rebel fleets which had mustered at Chios. The Athenians sent ships and a land force, but both were driven back. Other places now revolted and sent their ships to join the rest. The Athenians tried in vain to recapture Byzantium, which had deserted, but with the help of Mausolus the allies were too strong for her. She had to acknowledge the independence of Chios, Cos, Rhodes and Byzantium, and her second attempt at empire had failed.

All this time Philip had been able to pursue his plans undisturbed: he had extended his influence in Thrace and Thessaly and settled his own kingdom. Hitherto Macedonia had hardly been a nation at all. The people of the plain, who acknowledged the king as their absolute sovereign, were of a different stock from the turbulent hill tribes to whom he was only a sort of over-lord. Whenever there was a weak king on the throne these tribes would come down and attack him, and it would have been useless for Philip to think of interfering in the affairs of Greece and leave his kingdom behind in this unsettled state. He therefore arranged the army on a new plan, and gave the highlanders an important place in it. Since fighting was their favourite occupation they were

**The settle-
ment of
Macedonia.**

quite ready to be turned into regular soldiers in the king's service, with the prospect of good pay and rewards for the deserving. They learned to look upon themselves as part of a particular corps rather than of a tribe, and as members of the whole great army, which Philip was gradually transforming into the finest in Greece. He was the first Greek to organise what we call a standing army, a body of men with arms always in their hands, ready to march wherever they were sent in summer and winter alike. He taught them Greek drill and tactics and gave them a regular training for their profession. They learned to march thirty-five miles a day in proper order, each man carrying a month's provisions and full baggage. If he worked them hard he paid them well, and there was promotion and honour for any man who distinguished himself. Philip had learned a great deal at Thebes about the handling of troops, and he introduced many changes and improvements. He taught his cavalry to charge in a wedge-shaped mass instead of the old-fashioned line, and his infantry in a special arrangement called phalanx. This was a solid formation, in which the men stood eight, ten or sixteen deep, with a space of three feet between each man and his neighbour, and two feet between him and the soldier behind him. They were armed with a special kind of pike which was so long that the points of the third row could project beyond the men in the front. In this way they got greater play for their weapons than when they were more closely massed and could only make way by sheer weight.

Philip
organises his
army.

The phalanx.

When his army was in working order and his kingdom at peace, Philip was ready to move south. As usual some of the Greek states were at war. This time the disputants were Thebes and Phocis. Thebes had accused Phocis of an act of

The Sacred
War, 353
B.C.,

sacrilege at Delphi, and brought the case before the Amphictionic Council. A fine was inflicted on the Phocians and, when they refused to pay, Thebes declared war. At that time the Phocians had a very able general, Philomelus, who encouraged his countrymen to resist the Thebans. He reminded them that in the time of Homer Delphi had belonged to Phocis, and bade them reassert their old rights. "Our enemies the Thebans want to seize the temple for themselves; let us be beforehand with them," he urged. The Phocians agreed, and Philomelus made a sudden attack on the town and temple and took them with little difficulty. He now sent to all the chief states to say that Phocis had taken the oracle under her protection, that the temple should be open as before to all suppliants, and that they would not touch the treasures. Some declared in favour of Phocis, but most against, and soon Greece was plunged into another Sacred War. Philomelus now found that in spite of his promises he must use the temple treasures for paying his troops. By melting down the gold and silver ornaments, he obtained money to equip and maintain a large army. When he himself was killed in battle, his successor, Onomarchus, continued by the same means to carry the Phocian arms to victory. Nor was Thebes the only enemy they were called on to fight. The rival parties in Thessaly were quarrelling once more, and one side now called on the Phocians for help, while the other as before applied to Macedonia. By this time Philip was quite ready to play a part in the affairs of Greece. His army, which had taken six years to make, was now in splendid condition; his troublesome neighbours had been reduced to submission, and he had allied himself with Epirus, a great state on the north-west, by a marriage with the king's daughter Olympias. The greater

part of Thrace was in his hands, and there was little fear of leaving any enemies behind him.

It was late in the summer of 353 when Philip began his southward march. He found opposed to him an army of Thessalians and Phocians. It was larger and stronger than he had expected, and better led. Philip was defeated and forced

Philip takes part in the war, 353-352 B.C.

to retire northward, while the Phocians invaded Boeotia, took Coronea by storm, and persuaded Orchomenus to revolt from Thebes. But Philip was only stopped for a moment. Next year he returned with a larger army, defeated and killed Onomarchus with 6,000 men, and declared himself the champion of Apollo against the spoilers of his temple. He next determined to attack the Phocians on their own ground. This forced him to march through Thermopylae. That famous pass was now held by Athenians who, alarmed at Philip's growing power, were anxious to check his southward march. Instead of trying to force the pass Philip turned back to the north, for he knew a surer way of weakening Athens there. On the peninsula of Chalcidice some of the Greek cities still remained independent under the protection of Olynthus which had hitherto remained friendly to Philip. Now the time had come to seize these as well. Philip attacked Olynthus, and the Olynthians sent and asked aid of Athens. But times had changed here as elsewhere, and the old spirited policy, which the other Greeks had once contrasted

He returns to Thrace and attacks Olynthus, which sends to Athens for help.

with the lazy Spartan methods, was a thing of the past. Athens had grown tired of interference with the affairs of other states, and the party then in power was all in favour of peace. The Olynthiac petition would probably have been rejected, had it not been for Demosthenes. He was Philip's bitter enemy and the most wonderful orator

Demos-thenes.

ever heard, even at Athens. He had first learnt to speak in the law courts when quite a youth, in order to plead his own cause against his guardians, who had

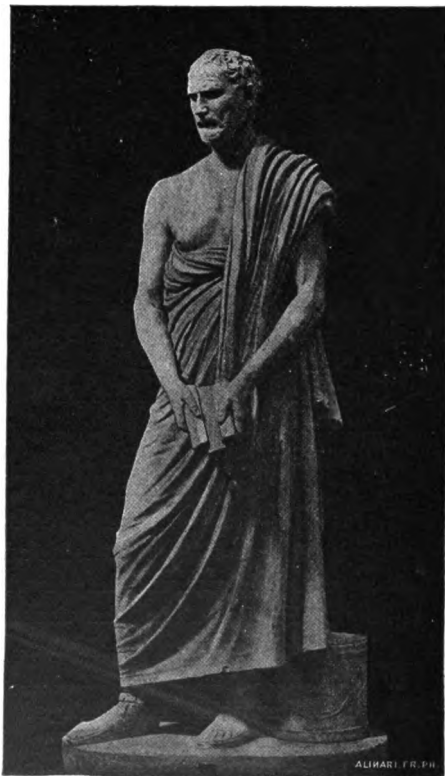


Photo. : Alinari Bros., Florence.

DEMOSTHENES.
(Vatican, Rome.)

tried to defraud him of his property. But it was a long time before he could make such a speech in the Assembly as the Athenians would listen to. What he said was good and his words were well chosen, but his manner

was so bad and awkward that the people laughed at him, and he had often to get down from the platform amid the hoots and jeers of his audience. Still Demosthenes was resolved that one day he would make himself heard. He set to work to train his voice, and practised speaking in every possible way, even reciting to the waves on the sea-shore, that he might learn how to pitch his voice so as to be heard through the shouts and noise of the Assembly. At last his efforts met with success, and there was no speaker to whom the Athenians were more ready to listen. Demosthenes was a true patriot, and his most earnest wish was that Athens should once more play her old part as defender of the weak. He therefore came forward to back the plea of the Olynthian envoys. He attacked Philip in a series of speeches, denouncing him as the arch-enemy of freedom, and imploring the Athenians to make any sacrifice rather than let him continue his encroachments. They must send a fleet and an army, and the Athenian citizens must go out themselves and fight as of old, instead of paying other people to do their work for them. The people listened and applauded, but they did not do as Demosthenes bade them.

Only a small force was sent which could do but little. Olynthus held out for a time, then Philip took and burned it, and sold all its citizens into slavery.

Philip takes
Olynthus, 348
B.C.

The Athenians were in great alarm, for they feared that Philip would now attack them either on the coast of Attica or in Thrace. The safest course was to make peace if possible, and accordingly an embassy of ten Athenians was sent to Philip's court at Pella. He received them in great state, seated on a throne in the public assembly of his vassals, surrounded by his famous Companions; and in the royal presence even Demos-

Athenian
embassy to
Philip, 347
B.C.

thenes found his power of speech fail him. The king listened very courteously to all they had to say, but put them off with excuses and delays, and bribes too, no doubt, until he was in a position to make just the terms he wanted. Philip aimed at nothing less than the overlordship of Greece, but first he wished to be acknowledged by the Greeks as one of themselves. Now at last he saw his chance. He kept the Athenians waiting for an answer till he had made sure of his road into central Greece, and it was not till he reached Pherae in Thessaly that the peace was actually signed, on the terms that each party should keep what it held at the moment. Philip further proposed a treaty of alliance and friendship with Athens and invited her to send an army and help him to settle

Alliance of Philip with Thebes. the affairs of Phocis and Boeotia. Persuaded by Demosthenes, the Athenians refused, and Philip allied himself with Thebes instead.

Together they soon reduced Phocis, which had no great generals left, and Philip summoned the Amphictionic Council to meet once more at Delphi, from which it had been banished for the last ten years. Phocis was expelled from the League, and her two votes given to Macedonia. Then the Pythian Games were celebrated

Philip is admitted to the Amphictionic League, 346 B.C. with great pomp, Philip was elected president of the festival, and gave the bay-leaf crowns to the victors, and thus won his public acknowledgment as a Hellene. Some years were now devoted to settling the places already conquered and strengthening alliances.

Above all Philip coveted the friendship and goodwill of Athens, and he might perhaps have won it now but for the opposition of Demosthenes. In speech after speech he denounced Philip as the enemy of Greek freedom, and implored the Athenians never to make peace with the barbarian conqueror. In giving this advice Demos-

thenes was wrong. Greece had a far greater enemy than Macedonia, and that was the king of Persia. Philip, himself a Greek, would have united the Greek states against the common foe, and taught them to put aside their little quarrels for the general good. One Athenian statesman, Isocrates, understood this, and urged his fellow-citizens to make peace with Philip; but he was ninety years old and belonged, they thought, to the old school, and his feeble voice could not make way against the fine speeches of Demosthenes, who bade them sacrifice everything in order to oppose Philip, "for surely, though all other people consented to be slaves, we at least ought to struggle for freedom. . . . this work belongs to you; this privilege your ancestors have bequeathed to you, the prize of many toils and perils." Demosthenes carried the day, and was himself sent to persuade Byzantium and other places to forsake the Macedonian alliance. When Philip set siege to Byzantium the Athenians assisted it by sea and land and he was forced to withdraw. He sent a letter of complaint to the Athenians, and they in their turn wrote to complain of him. Both sides now prepared for war, for Philip realised at last that friendship with Athens was impossible.

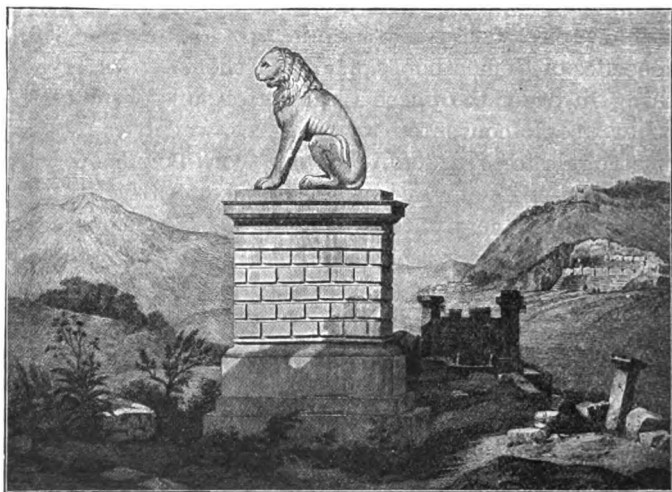
In the following year he had another excuse for marching south. A fresh quarrel about Delphi had broken out, and the Amphictionic League invited Philip to come and settle it. Soon word reached Athens that Philip was at Thermopylae, then that he had seized and fortified Elatea, a Phocian city on the Boeotian frontier. His aim must be either Athens or Thebes. Demosthenes hurried into Boeotia, and with all the force of his eloquence implored the Thebans to join Athens against Philip. They consented,

Demosthenes
attacks
Philip.

Philip
marches
South, 338
B.C.

Thebes joins
Athens.

and the two former enemies concluded an alliance and joined their armies together. Philip merely stopped to settle the Delphic quarrel, then he was ready to fight both Thebes and Athens. At the western gate of Boeotia, near Chaeronea (see map p. 182), the allies drew up their forces against Philip. The numbers on both sides were large, and the troops brave and well drilled. The two finest armies of Greece were opposed



LION OF CHAERONEA (*restored*)

to one another; on the one side there was the Sacred
 Battle of Chaeronea, 338 B.C. Band and the troops massed after the fashion
 of Epaminondas, on the other was the great
 general who had learnt all that Epami-
 nondas could teach him, and improved the lesson by his
 own genius. Philip placed his phalanx and the cavalry
 under his son Alexander on the left wing opposite the
 Athenians. The troops on the right had orders
 to give way before the Athenian attack till they had

drawn them away from their allies. Already the Athenians believed that the victory was theirs, but behind them the Theban ranks had been broken by the Macedonian cavalry. When victory was secured Philip sent other troops to take the Athenians in the rear. A thousand were slain, two thousand prisoners taken, the rest fled, and among them Demosthenes. Only the Sacred Band stood their ground: they fought till they fell, like the Lacedaemonians at Thermopylae. A stone lion, whose fragments yet remain, marked the tomb of these heroes.

The battle of Chaeronea put an end to the power of Thebes, as Leuctra had ended that of Sparta, and Aegospotami had overthrown Athens. The city states had had their day, and the last chapter of Greek history falls to the kingdom of Macedonia.

Philip had now to decide the fate of his two opponents. He treated Thebes with harshness, putting to death her leading citizens and placing a Macedonian garrison in the citadel. For Athens, now as always, Philip had a feeling of tenderness. He accepted her proffered submission, restored all her prisoners without a ransom and abstained from marching into Attica. Peace was made on honourable terms, and Alexander himself brought the captives to Athens and was received with honour and rejoicing. A statue of Philip was set up in the market-place, and thus at last he gained in effigy the place of honour at Athens which he had so long coveted. Then he marched into the Peloponnesus, attacked and greatly weakened the Spartans, and finally called a general congress at Corinth to settle the affairs of Greece. Here Philip declared his intentions. With a large army of united Greeks he would march to the East, to avenge once for all the invasion of Greece by Xerxes.

Hard treatment of Thebes.

Kindness shown to Athens.

That great revenge was indeed to fall to the lot of Greece, but it was not Philip for whom this
Murder of glory was in store. When the preparations
Philip, 336 for the campaign were nearly ready, Philip
B.C. was murdered by enemies in his own household, and
his son Alexander mounted the throne in his stead.

CHAPTER XXI.

ALEXANDER, THE GREAT CONQUEROR.

WHEN Alexander was but a boy a Thessalian stranger came to Pella and offered to sell Philip a horse. Though a splendid creature, it was so vicious and unmanageable that no one could mount it, and after several trials the king ordered the man to take it back. Alexander, who had been watching the proceedings, begged permission to try himself, offering, if he failed, to pay the amount of the purchase money. Having noticed that the creature shied at its own shadow he turned it to the sun, speaking gently to it and stroking its back; then he leaped lightly up and, without either whip or spur, set it going at full gallop. The king and court were in terror, fearing for the prince's life, but when he returned in safety Philip embraced him and said: "Seek another kingdom, my son, for Macedonia is too small for you". It was a true prophecy, for before he was twenty-two Alexander had turned his back for ever on Macedonia, to enter on a career of conquest which ended only with his life.

**Boyhood of
Alexander.**

When the news of the king's death first reached Greece no one suspected that a greater than Philip had mounted the throne of Macedonia, and many openly expressed their joy, thinking that the days of freedom had returned. Already there were signs of revolt among the Greek states, when Alexander hurriedly marched south to check them. Here again the difficulties which others rated so

**He checks
revolt in
Greece, 336
B.C.**

high were of no account to him. Hearing that the pass of Tempe was held by Thessalians, he turned away and crossed the steep mountain side of Ossa by steps which he caused to be cut in the rock. No sooner did he appear in Thessaly than the whole country submitted, and enabled him to march straight to Thermopylae. Here he was received with honour as Philip's successor; even the Athenians, who had passed a vote congratulating the murderer, now sent a message of submission, and the congress met again at Corinth to elect Alexander general against Persia in his father's place.

He is elected general of the Greeks. ing the murderer, now sent a message of submission, and the congress met again at Corinth to elect Alexander general against Persia in his father's place.

His power of overcoming difficulties. He was not yet ready to start for Asia, since it would not do to leave enemies behind him; and the half-savage mountain tribes had broken out into fresh rebellion now that

Philip was dead and a mere boy, as they thought, on the throne. But Alexander was a boy only in years, in military genius he was greater than any general yet known in Greece. No obstacles were too hard for him to overcome. His road across the Balkans lay over a steep pass, at the top of which the defenders had collected a number of chariots to roll down on the invaders. Alexander ordered his foot soldiers to advance up the pass, opening their ranks, where there was room, to let the chariots roll through, and, where the space was too narrow, they were to fall on their knees, lock their shields together and so form a roof on which the chariots could fall and roll harmlessly away. Like Darius Alexander had to cross the Danube into the lands of the Scythians, but Alexander's crossing was far quicker and more skilful. In order to surprise the enemy he had to take over all his troops in one night and, as he had not ships enough to construct a complete bridge, all the fishing boats in the neighbourhood were got together and tent-skins were filled with hay, tied firmly together and

strung across the stream. The enemy fled when they found that Alexander was upon them and, as he was content with the Danube as his boundary, he made no attempt at pursuit. After this a rebellion in Illyria had to be put down, and scarcely had Alexander beaten his enemies in the north and west, when he had to march south again and fight Greece into fresh submission.

While Alexander was absent in the north a rumour of his death spread through Greece. The news was the signal for revolt, and the Thebans at once tried to drive out the Macedonian garrison. Theban fugitives came hurrying back from Athens, hoping to expel the Macedonians as easily as Pelopidas had turned out the Spartans. Other states hastened to their help. Athens sent arms, Arcadia men, and no one doubted the Theban success. Then suddenly Alexander appeared before the walls. He had marched right through from Pelion in Illyria over difficult passes and unmade roads, covering 250 miles in thirteen days. Now he halted outside Thebes and called on her to surrender. When she refused, a battle began outside the walls and continued in the very streets of the town. More than 500 Macedonians were killed and 6,000 Thebans. When all was over Alexander invited the congress at Corinth to pronounce sentence on Thebes. Among her judges were the Plataeans and other Boeotians who had met with such cruel treatment from her. No wonder they voted for her destruction. Thebes was razed to the ground, and her lands divided among her enemies, the people were sold into slavery, the citadel was turned into a Macedonian fortress. If Alexander meant by this severity to frighten the other states into submission his end was gained, for no further resistance was

Revolt of
Thebes, 335
B.C.

Alexander
defeats the
Thebans

and destroys
their city.

offered, and even Athens sent congratulations to the conqueror. Greece was subdued once for all, and Alexander was free to turn his thoughts to the conquest of Asia.

This expedition to the east had been the dream of Alexander's life. He was brought up to believe himself descended on his mother's side from Achilles, the hero of the Trojan war. He never wearied of studying the exploits of his great ancestor; the *Iliad* was his favourite book, and he even slept with a copy under his pillow. Thus the invasion of Asia was in Alexander's eyes not only an act of vengeance, but also a second Trojan expedition in which he was to play the parts of both Agamemnon and Achilles. Yet his schemes of conquest threw theirs into the shade. He meant not only to punish the Great King, but actually to seize his throne and subject Persia to Hellas as Xerxes had hoped to subject Hellas to Persia. To one who aspired after such vast realms, Macedonia was of little account, and before he set out he divided his royal domains and forests and revenues among his friends. When one of them asked him what he kept for himself, he answered "Hope". "Then," replied he, "we who share in your labours will also take part in your hopes."

At that time Persia was governed by another Darius, a weak and timid monarch, unworthy of the great name he bore. But his predecessor had been a strong ruler who had put down rebellions, and when Darius III. came to the throne in 338 the Persian Empire once more extended from the Hellespont to the Indus, as it had done in the days of the great Darius. Other things had remained unchanged too. The Persians had learnt nothing new in the art of war, while the Greeks had outgrown their old simple methods and knew how to draw up and manage

armies with skill. Most of the nations that made up the Persian Empire were poor soldiers, and the kings had come to trust more and more to Greek mercenaries, who could usually be hired now that fighting had become a regular profession in Greece and Persian gold was no longer despised. The Asiatic troops, though numerous, were even less to be depended on now than at Marathon and Plataea.

Such was the empire that Alexander set out to conquer, tracing in reverse order the stages over which Xerxes had once passed. Many were the difficulties and obstacles that the Persian king had encountered. But here, as always, Alexander showed that what were difficulties to others were to him only stepping-stones to success.

Instead of the enormous half-savage hordes that Xerxes led against Europe, Alexander took to Asia only thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, but they were well trained and disciplined and led by a general who knew how to make the most of every man. When Alexander mustered his forces at Pella, there was none of the display of gold and silver and fine chariots that had dazzled the gaze of Xerxes at Sardis, but no doubt that made the march quicker and easier. Alexander led his troops in person to Amphipolis and across the Strymon, and on through Thrace to Sestos, where he met his fleet. (See map p. 254.) The troops were now carried across to Abydos, where Xerxes, more than a hundred years before, had surveyed his myriads. Alexander did not cross with them, for he had a pious duty to perform on first setting foot on Asiatic soil. With his own hand he steered the admiral's trireme to the landing place near Ilium, known as the Harbour of the Achaeans. In mid stream he sacrificed a bull and poured libations from a golden goblet to

Alexander's
march to the
East, 334
B.C.

He visits
Troy.

Poseidon and the Nereids. On the hill where Troy had once stood, he offered a sacrifice to Athena, and hung up his arms in her temple in the place of some rusty ones, relics of the olden time, which henceforth he always had carried beside him in battle. Then he laid a wreath on the tomb of Achilles and gave orders to build a new city on the ruins of the old. These pious offices performed, he returned to his troops.

The Greek army had been suffered to land and even
Battle of the march some distance without any opposition,
Granicus, but the satraps of Asia Minor had collected
334 B.C. their troops and were only debating the
 question as to where they should strike the first blow. Their decision was an unfortunate one. Instead of drawing up their forces on the level plain, where they would have had the full advantage of cavalry and superior numbers, they awaited the invader on the steep left bank of the Granicus, a river flowing north into the sea of Marmora. Evening was drawing on when Alexander came to the stream and saw the enemy posted on the opposite bank. Parmenio, his most trusted general, advised him to wait till next morning to cross, but Alexander answered that after passing the Hellespont he should be ashamed to be detained by the Granicus. He plunged straightway into the stream with his guards, followed by the rest of the horse and foot. On the opposite bank a fierce battle began, the Persians trying to drive the Greeks back into the stream and these withstanding the attack, till at last they broke right through the enemy's lines. Alexander himself was in the thick of the fight and twice narrowly escaped death. He lost 120 men; on the Persian side 2,000 horsemen fell and a whole body of infantry was cut to pieces. Of the three satraps who commanded, two fell in battle, the third slew himself rather than bring the tale of defeat to the King. Of the army from Asia Minor

but a remnant was left, and there was no one to command that. Alexander wasted not a moment. While the news of his victory was yet fresh in men's minds he turned southward, and city after city submitted to him. Among the first was Sardis, the capital of Lydia, from which Cyrus had driven Croesus. Next followed the Greek cities, to whom Alexander appeared as deliverer. Only Miletus, where a Persian party was in power, held out, and had to be taken by siege. South of Lydia lay the province of Caria, over which Mausolus had once ruled. Alexander had to besiege Halicarnassus, the capital; then the rest of the province submitted. Lycia and Pamphylia gave little trouble; next came an eastward march into Pisidia, and after conquering the mountain tribes here Alexander turned north, in the spring of 333, and entered the great Phrygian plain. At Gordium, the old capital, he had arranged to meet the rest of his army, and make preparations for the second stage of his conquest. Here he saw the famous Gordian knot which fastened the pole to the yoke of an ancient chariot by a strand of cornel bark, twisted into a complicated knot. An ancient prophecy declared that the empire of the world would fall to the man who loosened this knot. Alexander tried to untie it, but soon lost patience, and cut it asunder with his sword. For he meant that the empire should be his, and that he would win it at the sword's point.

Conquest of
Lydia,

Caria,

Lycia,
Pamphylia
and Pisidia.

He cuts the
Gordian
knot.

Luck indeed seemed to favour Alexander. Darius had one good commander, a Greek named Memnon, who had charge of the fleet and had already given Alexander some trouble. Just as he was preparing to cross into Greece and stir up rebellion at home he fell ill and died; and now in

Death of
Memnon.

the whole of the Persian dominion there was scarcely a general whom Alexander need fear.

After the destruction of the army at the Granicus, Darius made no further attempt to save Asia Minor. Instead he took his stand on his own side of the Taurus, where Alexander would be in great straits if he were beaten, as Cyrus had been. Darius mustered his forces at Babylon, as Artaxerxes had done, and then marched up the Euphrates with an army almost as large as that which Xerxes had led against Greece. Meantime Alexander was marching eastward along the old route of Cyrus, and had crossed the Cilician Gates to Tarsus. There he fell ill of a fever and his life was despaired of, until Philip, a Greek physician, came and offered his services. A letter was sent warning Alexander that Philip had been bribed by Darius to poison him. The next time the physician brought him a draught, Alexander handed him the letter and emptied the cup while he read it. His confidence was not misplaced, for he was a good judge of human nature and knew that Philip was an honest man. He was a good doctor too, and thanks to his remedies Alexander recovered and continued his march to Issus.

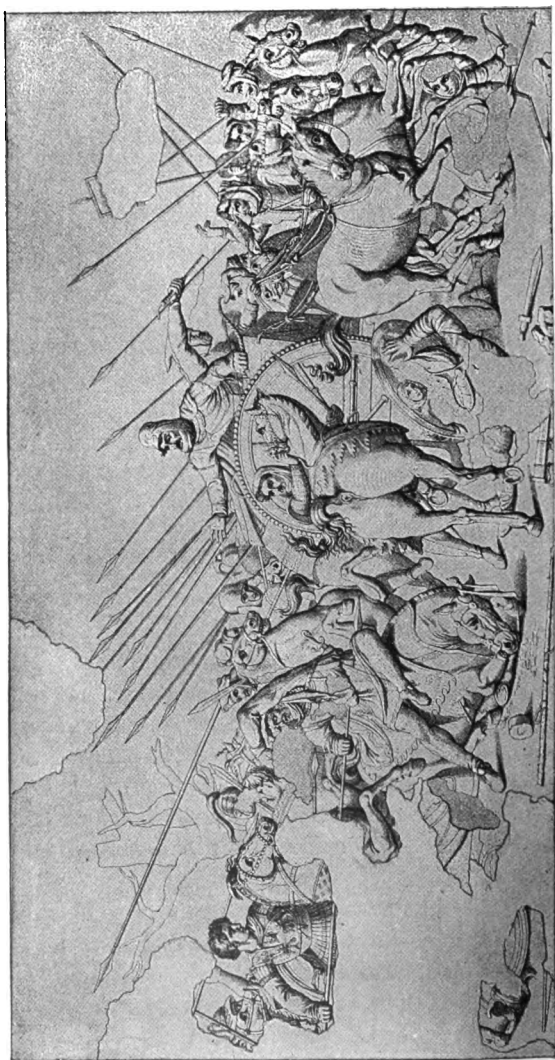
The two armies were now quite near one another, but separated by the mountains. Darius was in the great plain of northern Syria, where he could use his numbers to advantage and make the most of his cavalry, and Alexander quite expected that he would have to fight him here. To his surprise Darius left his splendid position and played into the enemy's hands. There were two passes across the mountains, and Alexander had started by the southern one, the same by which Cyrus had crossed. He was delayed by storms of rain, and when he reached the plain on the other side he learned to his

**Battle of
Issus, 333
B.C.**

amazement that Darius had crossed over by the northern pass, expecting to find Alexander at Issus and attack him in the rear. Alexander turned back at once; he was only too glad to fight on the narrow strip of level ground between the mountains and the sea, where the numbers of Darius were worse than useless. Ten miles south of Issus he came upon the Persian army drawn up on the other side of the stream that crossed the little plain. It was much like the battle of the Granicus, but a far harder fight, if only because there were thirty thousand Greeks serving in the Persian army. Besides the enemy was in Alexander's rear, and had he been defeated his retreat would have been cut off. But defeat was a thing that did not enter into Alexander's plans. It was his skilful management of his troops and his perfect generalship that made his victory certain. First he attacked the Persian left centre with his cavalry, while the phalanx followed to make the main attack. Here stood Darius himself in his war chariot surrounded by a guard of Persian nobles. Round him the fight waxed hottest and Alexander was wounded in the leg. Meantime the Persian cavalry had crossed the river and were carrying all before them on the other side, when a rumour spread among them that Darius had fled. Their confidence now gave way, they turned and rode back in haste pursued by the Thessalians. The cowardice of Darius had decided the battle.

The King's flight was the signal for a general rout. The fugitives were entangled with the mass of reserve troops, and made the confusion worse. No less than a hundred thousand persons perished in the battle and the pursuit. At the foot of the mountain the king left his chariot, shield and royal cloak, and fled on the swiftest horse

Flight of
Darius.



THE BATTLE OF ISSUS (DARIUS AND ALEXANDER).
(From a mosaic in the Naples Museum.)

that could be found. Perhaps he scarcely realised that he was leaving his wife, mother and family behind, in the camp at Issus, at the conqueror's mercy. When they heard that the King's chariot, shield and cloak had been found, they never doubted his death, and set up a loud wailing as was the fashion among Eastern women. The sounds came to Alexander's ears, and he asked what women were so near his tent. Only then he learnt what a prize had fallen into his hands. He sent kind messages to the royal captives, bidding them be of good cheer, since Darius yet lived and they might count on courteous treatment at his hands.

The battle of Issus was a magnificent triumph for Alexander. He had beaten the Great King in person, had broken up his countless hosts, and the road to Babylon lay open. Darius owned his defeat in a letter to Alexander, in which he begged him to send back his wife and family. But the terms were not sufficiently humble. Darius reproached Alexander for invading his kingdom without provocation. Alexander replied by counter reproaches. "Your ancestors," he wrote, "invaded Macedonia and the rest of Greece, and without provocation inflicted wrongs upon us. I was appointed leader of the Greeks, and crossed over into Asia to take vengeance on the Persians, for it was you who began the quarrel. I have overcome in battle first your generals and satraps, and now yourself and your host, and I possess your land through the favour of the gods. Now since I am lord of all Asia do you come to me, and in future whenever you send, send to me as to the King of Asia and not as an equal." Darius now wrote again more humbly, offering a large ransom for his family, the hand of his daughter in marriage, and all Asia

Darius
writes to
Alexander,

who refuses
his terms.

west of the Euphrates as her dowry. "I should accept this offer were I Alexander," exclaimed Parmenio. "So should I," replied Alexander, "if I were Parmenio."

Alexander did not mean to make any terms. He wanted the whole and not half the kingdom, and he meant to win it by the sword and not take it as a gift. He might now, had he pleased, have marched into Assyria, but prudence forbade this step. First Syria and Egypt must be secured, lest in marching eastward he should leave enemies behind. Alexander knew when to wait as well as when to strike; that was why he never had to do his work twice over. In Syria, as he had expected, he met with serious opposition. Tyre held out, and had to be taken by a long and troublesome siege. Alexander treated it harshly, as he did every place that resisted him, for he meant one town to serve as a warning to the rest. He had no further difficulty in Syria; the Jews in Palestine did homage to him, so did the cities of the Philistines, except Gaza, which, like Tyre, was besieged, taken and punished. Now that Syria was conquered, it would have been difficult for and Egypt. Egypt to hold out, since it was cut off from the rest of the Persian domains. In fact Egypt had always been an unwilling vassal, ready to seize any excuse for revolt. Alexander was hailed as a deliverer; he entered Memphis in triumph and sailed down the Nile, where he carried out the undertaking planned a hundred years before by the Athenians, and built a new port, which he called Alexandria. He gave this name to many of the towns which sprang up at his bidding along his line of conquest, but this Egyptian Alexandria was the most enduring of all, and was destined, long after Greece had fallen into decay, to preserve some of her finest treasures for ages yet unborn.

In the spring of 331 Alexander marched back to the Euphrates. He could safely enter Assyria now, for all the lands in the rear had been secured. His delay had enabled Darius to collect another army, as large as the one that was broken up at Issus. This time he profited by his former mistake, and determined to fight on a wide, open plain. Nothing could have been better for his purpose than the flat ground east of the Tigris near the mounds that mark the site of ancient Nineveh. Sixty miles distant was a town called Arbela, which gave its name to the battle. Here there was space to draw out the whole vast army. In the centre was the King in his war chariot, surrounded by his bodyguard and the few Greek troops still left him. On either side were the Persian, Bactrian and Indian cavalry, and behind these the half-savage hordes that helped to make up the Persian Empire. In front of all was a row of war chariots and elephants. Against these mighty hosts Alexander could only bring an army of less than fifty thousand, and this time he had not even the advantage of the ground. Still Alexander's confidence did not forsake him. The night before the battle he slept so soundly that he had to be awakened. When his generals expressed their surprise, he answered: "I have followed Darius up and down Asia, and shall I not sleep now that he is delivered into my hands?" Arbela was the hardest of Alexander's battles, and his victory was due to the perfect discipline of his troops as much as to his own skill as a general. Even when they were almost surrounded they never broke their ranks, and as soon as a gap appeared in the enemy's line the phalanx forced its way in. Once more the battle raged fiercely round Darius, once more he turned and fled. The Persians fled with him, and the other troops followed.

**Battle of
Arbela, 331
B.C.**

Without attempting to pursue Darius, Alexander hurried on to Babylon. This huge city with its wonderful walls might well have stood a long siege, and Alexander fully expected to be delayed here. To his surprise he found the gates open. An unwilling vassal of Persia,

Alexander takes
Babylon,
October,
331 B.C.;

Babylon might hope to see some of her ancient glory restored if she received the conqueror with fitting honours. Thus the first of the Persian capitals' fell without a blow. Susa also yielded, and here Alexander

Susa,
December,
331 B.C.;

found part of the treasure of Darius. He gave the palace to the royal ladies as a residence, and marched without further delay to Persepolis, the capital of Persia proper.

Here he had to fight for admission. Persepolis was held by a brave and faithful satrap, who led out an army to occupy the mountain passes leading from Susiana into Persia. Alexander was delayed for some days until he found another way across the mountains, and after a hard fight he entered the city. Now at last his ambi-

Persepolis,
330 B.C.

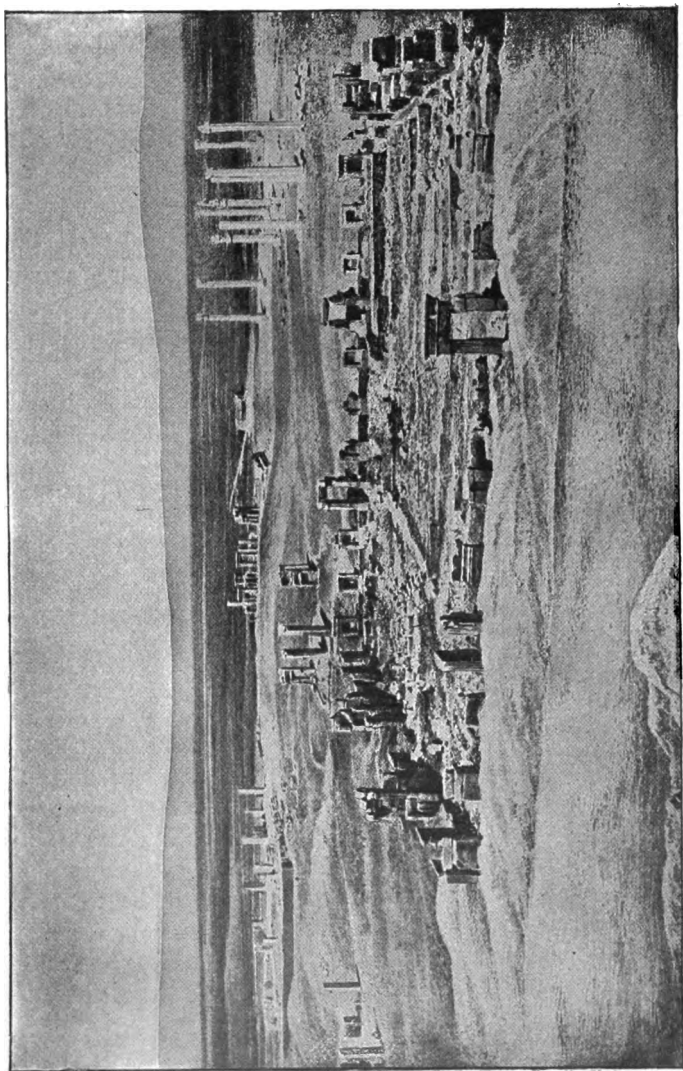
tion was satisfied. Persepolis, "the richest city under the sun," the earliest home of the Persian race, where stood the treasure houses and the tombs of their greatest kings, was the goal of all his dreams. More fortunate

The burning
of Athens
avenged.

than his great ancestor, Alexander had lived to enter and sack his Troy. He set fire to the splendid palaces to avenge the burning of Athens; but by his own orders the flames were extinguished, for the fire was a symbol of mastery, not a weapon of destruction.

Alexander was now free to pursue Darius, who had fled to Ecbatana in Media. When he heard that his great enemy was on the road he fled once more, this time to the shores of the Caspian, where he hoped for a refuge. But his

He pursues
Darius,



THE RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS.

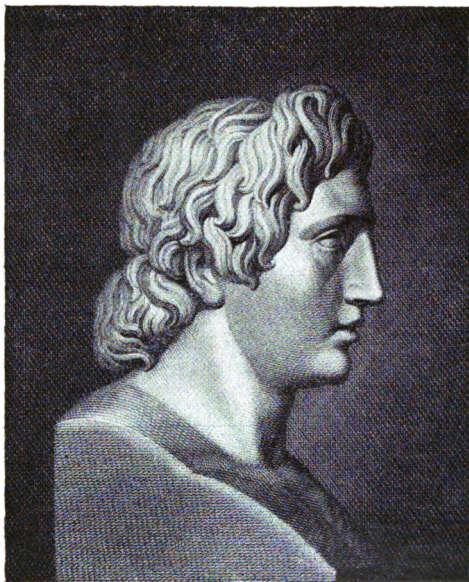
own subjects had turned against him. Disgusted at his cowardice, they formed a plot to seize and cast him in chains and proclaim his cousin Bessus instead. When

who is murdered by his own subjects, 330 B.C. the conspirators learned that Alexander had started in pursuit they stabbed their royal prisoner and left him to die alone. Alexander found the dead monarch lying stark on the ground, and in pity he threw over him his royal mantle.

The end of the conflict between Europe and Asia. Here our story rightly ends. Alexander had avenged Greece; the long quarrel between East and West had ended in the triumph of Europe. But Alexander had drunk too deep of war and conquest ever to rest while life remained. There were yet lands to the East which be-

Conquests in the Far East, 330-325 B.C. longed to the Persian domain, and thither Bessus, the murderer of Darius, had fled. Alexander marched on through Turkestan and Afghanistan, where he founded the cities we now call Kandahar and Kabul; twice he crossed the Hindu Koosh, and he made his way over the Khyber Pass into the Punjaub. He captured Bessus and put him to death; he married Roxane, a princess of Bactria, but no desire for rest arose in Alexander. At last his army grew weary of the ceaseless marching and fighting, and forced him to retrace his steps. Before he turned westward he celebrated the Olympic Games on the banks of the Sutlej, to mark the farthest limit where the power of Hellas extended. He returned to Babylon by a new route, exploring as he went; but it seemed as though

Death of Alexander, 323 B.C. the zest of life were gone when once he turned his face westward, and he died of a fever at Babylon in the year 323, at the age of thirty-two.



ALEXANDER THE GREAT

(From a Print in the British Museum).

Alexander left behind him one infant son, but only a second Alexander could have kept all that the father had won. The empire was divided among his generals, and the story of their kingdoms is no part of our tale. Many years were to elapse before these lands were again united under a common rule. Then the world's sway had fallen to Rome, and Greece was but a little province of that mighty empire.

The story
of Greece
ends with
Alexander.

TABLE OF

1300-900	Changes and Migrations in Greece. Coming of the Greeks.	Union of Attica under King Theseus.	Greatness of Mycenae. Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus.
900-800	Changes in the Peloponnesus.		Lycurgus at Sparta.
800-700	Age of Kings. Importance of Olympic Games.	Kings at Athens.	Rise of Sparta. First Messenian War.
700-600	Age of Aristocracies and Tyrants.	Kings abolished at Athens. Archons at Athens. Cylon's attempt at tyranny. Curse of Alcmaeonids. Laws of Draco.	Second Messenian War. Pheidon revives the greatness of Argos. Sparta becomes protector of Olympic Festival.
600-500	Greatness of Sparta.	Athenian conquest of Salamis. Laws of Solon. Tyranny of Peisistratus. Expulsion of tyrants. Reforms of Cleisthenes.	War between Sparta and Argos. War between Sparta and Arcadia. Spartan invasion of Attica.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS.

Greek colonies in Asia Minor.	Greatness of Assyria. Assyrian conquest of Babylonia.	
Siege of Troy. Poems of Homer.	Spread of Assyrian conquests.	
Greek colonies in the West.	Sargon (722-705), King of Assyria, extends his conquests to the West.	Foundation of Rome, 753.
	Sennacherib (705-681), King of Assyria. Assyrian conquest of Syria, Judaea and Egypt. Rise of Media. Destruction of Nineveh. Assyria divided between Babylon and Media.	Kings at Rome.
Sacred War. Temple of Delphi burnt down and rebuilt by Alcmaeonids.	Median invasion of Lydia. Croesus (560), King of Lydia. Cyrus (549-529) conquers Media and founds the Persian Empire. His conquest of Lydia and the Greek cities. Capture of Babylon, 538. Cambyses (529-521), King of Persia, conquers Egypt. Darius I. (521-485) succeeds, conquers Thrace.	Kings at Rome. Republic at Rome, 509.

500-460	Wars with Persia.	<p>War between Athens and Aegina, 491. Themistocles and Aristides at Athens. Rise of Athenian navy. Confederacy of Delos, 477. Fortification of Athens and the Peiræus, 477-471. Exile of Themistocles. Rise of Cimon.</p>	<p>Decline of Spartan influence. Treachery of Pausanias. His death, 471. Earthquake at Sparta.</p> <p>Revolt of the Helots. Siege of Ithome.</p>
460-435	The Greatness of Athens.	<p>Pericles at Athens. Athens subdues Megara, Aegina and Boeotia. Expedition to Egypt (459-454). Treasury of League transferred to Athens, 454. Revolts from Athens. Loss of Boeotia and Megara. Athens adorned by Pericles.</p>	<p>Thirty years' truce between Sparta and Argos, 451.</p> <p>Thirty years' truce between Sparta and Athens, 445.</p>
435-404	Peloponnesian War.	<p>Invasions of Attica. Plague at Athens, 430.</p> <p>Death of Pericles, 429. Rise of Alcibiades.</p> <p>Rise of Cleon and the demagogues. Capture of the city, 404. Rule of the Thirty.</p>	<p>Conference of allies at Sparta, 432.</p> <p>Alcibiades at Sparta (415-412).</p>
404-380	Spartan Supremacy. Rule of decarchies and oligarchies.	<p>Restoration of democracy at Athens. Death of Socrates, 399.</p> <p>Gradual revival of Athens and alliance with Thebes, Argos, Corinth and other States. Conon helps to rebuild the Long Walls.</p>	<p>Agesilaus, King of Sparta, sent to fight in the East, 396-394.</p> <p>Wins battle of Coronea, 394. Spartans seize the citadel of Thebes, 382.</p>

Carthaginian invasion of Sicily. Battle of Himera, 480.	Ionian revolt. Burning of Sardis, 497. Battle of Lade, 494. Xerxes (485-464), King of Persia.	Battle of Lake Regillus, 496. Wars with Volsci. Coriolanus.
Hiero (478-467), tyrant of Syracuse.	War carried over to Asia, 479. Campaigns of Cimon (477-466). Battle of the Eurymedon.	
Expulsion of tyrants in Sicily. Prosperity of the island.	Artaxerxes I. (464-423), King of Persia. Cimon's campaigns in Cyprus (450-449). Death of Cimon, 449. Peace with Persia, 448.	Roman Wars with Aequi. Cincinnatus.
Second Carthaginian invasion of Sicily.	Persia intervenes in the War (412-405). Cyrus satrap of Lydia. Darius II. (423-404), King of Persia.	Roman Wars with Etruscans.
Dionysius (405-367), tyrant of Syracuse.	Artaxerxes II. (404-359), King of Persia. Expedition of Cyrus and the Greeks, 401. Spartan expedition to Asia Minor under 1. Thibron, 400. 2. Dercyllidas, 399. 3. Agesilaus, 396-394. Persian help given to Athens. Battle of Cnidus, 394. King's Peace, 387.	Siege of Veii, 396. Rome burnt by the Gauls, 390. Camillus defeats the Gauls, 390.

379-362	Decline of Sparta and Rise of Thebes.	New Athenian Confederacy, 378. Battle of Naxos, 376.	Raid of Sphodrias, 378. Peace Congress at Sparta, 371. Invasions of the Peloponnesus by Epaminondas, 370-362. Arcadian League. Restoration of Messenia, 371-369. Battle of Mantinea, 362.
361-336	Rise of Macedonia.	Revolt of allies from Athens. Decline of second Athenian Empire. Demosthenes at Athens. Athenian embassies to Philip, 347-346.	Death of Agesilaus in Egypt, 361.
336-323	Conquests of Alexander. First descent into Greece: Election as general, 336. Campaigns in Thrace and Illyria, 335. Second descent into Greece: Destruction of Thebes, 335. Beginning of Asiatic campaign, 334. Battle of Granicus, 334. Conquest of Asia Minor, 334-333. Battle of Issus, 333. Conquest of Syria, Judaea and Egypt, 332. Battle of Arbela, 331. Capture of Babylon and Susa, 331. Capture of Persepolis, 330. Campaigns in Turkestan, Afghanistan and India, 330-325. Return to Babylon, 323. Death of Alexander, 323.		

<p>Thebes. Pelopidas and Epaminondas at Thebes.</p> <p>Spartan garrison expelled from Cadmeia, 379.</p>	<p>Peace of Callias, 371.</p>	<p>Contests between patricians and plebeians at Rome.</p>
<p>Macedonia. Philip becomes Regent and then King, 359. Conquests in Thrace, 358. Sacred War, 356-346. Capture of Olynthus, 348. Battle of Chaeronea, 338.</p>	<p>Artaxerxes III. (359-338), King of Persia. Arses (338-336).</p>	<p>First Samnite War, 343-341.</p>
<p>Accession of Darius III., 336. Murder of Darius, 330.</p>	<p>Second Samnite War, 326. Capitulation at Caudine Forks, 321.</p>	

THE PERSIAN WARS.

First Expedition against Greece, 492.

Conquest of Thrace, 492.

Fleet broken up by storm, 492.

Second Expedition, 490.

Destruction of Eretria, 490.

Battle of Marathon, September, 490.

Third Expedition.

Xerxes sets out from Sardis, Spring, 480.

Battle of Thermopylae, August, 480.

Battle of Artemisium, August, 480.

Burning of Athens, September, 480.

Battle of Salamis, September, 480.

Battle of Plataea, August, 479.

Battle of Mycale, August, 479.

PELOPONNESIAN WAR, 431-404.

1. First Period, 431-421.

431 Theban attack on Plataea.

First invasion of Attica.

430 Plague at Athens.

Second invasion of Attica.

Surrender of Potidaea.

429 Siege of Plataea.

Naval victories of Phormio.

428 Revolt of Mytilene.

Third invasion of Attica.

427 Fourth invasion of Attica.

Surrender of Mytilene.

Capture of Plataea.

426 Demosthenes in the west of Greece.

425 Fifth invasion of Attica.

Fortification of Pylos and capture of Sphacteria.

424 Invasion of Boeotia.

Brasidas in Thrace.

423 One year's truce. Revolt of Scione.

422 Battle of Amphipolis. Death of Brasidas and Cleon.

421 Peace of Nicias.

2. Sicilian Expedition, 415-413.

415 Athenians sail to Sicily. Recall of Alcibiades.

414 Siege of Syracuse. Gylippus sent from Sparta.

413 Battle in the Great Harbour.

Retreat and surrender of the Athenians.

3. Second Period, 413-404.

413 Decelea fortified Spartans.

412 Revolt of Athenian allies.

411 Battle of Cynossema.

410 Battle of Cyzicus.

409 Athenian successes under Alcibiades.

408

" helps the Spartans. Battle of Notion.

406 Battle of Arginusae.

405 Lysander Spartan admiral. Battle of Aegospotami.

404 Surrender of Athens.

INDEX.

- ABYDOS, 151, 152, 198, 282, 290, 349.
 Achaeans, 8, 34, 37.
 Achilles, 15, 16, 17, 18, 348, 350.
 Acragas, 266.
 Acropolis, 69, 70, 72, 93-95, 195, 225-231.
 Aegeans, 3-6.
 Aegina, 162, 163, 169, 174, 178, 213, 224, 242.
 Aegospotami, 294, 295.
 Aeolians, 8.
 Aeschylus, 175, 208, 233.
 Agamemnon, 4, 8, 15, 17, 51.
 Agesilaus, 308-313, 322, 323, 325, 326.
 Alcibiades, 261-263, 272-274, 283, 284, 286, 294.
 Alcmaeonids, 77, 92, 100-102, 238.
 Alexander I., 178, 179, 330.
 — II., 231.
 — the Great, 18, 342-361.
 Alexandria, 356.
 Alyattes, 112-114.
 Amphictions, 25-27, 80, 100, 200, 336, 340, 341.
 Amphipolis, 257, 259, 260, 261, 333.
 Apollo, 20-28.
 Arbela, 357.
 Arcadia, 64, 66, 325, 328.
 Areopagus, 56, 85, 218.
 Arginusae, 293, 294.
 Argos, 4, 34, 35, 37, 38, 51, 53, 54, 66, 67, 213, 221, 239.
 Aristides, 163-167, 172-174, 176, 178, 181, 199, 200, 203, 206, 210.
 Aristodemus (Heraclid), 36, 37.
 — (of Messenia), 58, 59.
 Aristogeiton, 98-102.
 Aristomenes, 60-63.
 Artaphernes, 141.
 Artaxerxes I., 204.
 — II., 301, 303, 304, 306-313.
 Artemis, 28.
 Artemisia, 174, 175.
 Artemisium, 156, 159-161.
 Assyria, 108-111, 357.
 Astyages, 116, 118-120.
 Athena, 20, 70, 85, 95, 227, 228.
 Athens, 69-73; under Solon, 81-87; under Peisistratus, 92-97; under Cleisthenes, 105-107; quarrels with Aegina, 162, 163, 164; abandoned by inhabitants, 167-169; burnt by Persians, 169-171; abandoned a second time, 179-180; rebuilt, 192-197; concludes truce with Sparta, 224; surrenders, 295, 296; founds second league, 321, 322; allies revolt from, 333-334; quarrels with Philip, 337-343.
 Athos, 138, 149, 150, 289.
 Attica, 73, 93, 103, 104, 242.
 Aulis, 14, 15, 309.
 BABYLON, 108, 111, 128-130, 303, 352, 353, 353, 360.
 Boeotia, 104, 105, 181-183, 223, 255, 310, 311, 321, 323, 328.
 Brasidas, 250-252, 255, 260, 272.
 Byzantium, 198, 199, 201, 289, 292, 321, 324, 341.
 CADMEIA, 317-320.
 Cadmus, 314-316.
 Cambyzes, 130, 219.
 Carthage, 266, 268.
 Cecrops, 69, 70.
 Cerameicus, 93.
 Chaeronea, 255, 342, 343.
 Chalcedon, 291, 292.
 Chalcis, 104, 105.
 Chios, 215, 283, 321, 324.
 Cimon, 201, 205-213, 217, 221, 222, 225.
 Clearchus, 201, 302, 304.
 Cleisthenes, 102, 103, 105-107.
 Cleombrotus, 324, 325.
 Cleomenes, 102, 104.
 Cleon, 247, 252-254, 259, 260.
 Cnidus, 311, 312.
 Codrus, 73, 74.
 Conon, 293, 308, 309, 311, 312.
 Corcyra, 336.
 Corinth, 75, 76, 154, 155, 236, 343, 346.
 Cresphontes, 36, 37.
 Croesus, 24, 25, 114, 115, 120-125.

- Cunaxa, 303.
 Cyaxares, 110, 113.
 Cylon, 76.
 Cyprus, 220, 221, 222.
 Cyrus the Great, 116-130.
 — — Younger, 293, 301-305, 307.
 Cyzicus, 290, 291.
- DARIUS I.**, 130-141, 148.
 — II., 301.
 — III., 348, 350-360.
 Datis, 141.
 Decelea, 284.
 Delium, 255.
 Delos, 94, 141.
 — confederacy of, 200, 201, 213, 215, 217, 222-224.
 Delphi, 22-28, 79, 80, 101, 336, 337, 341, 342.
 Demosthenes (general), 249-255, 279-281.
 — (orator), 337-343.
 Dercyllidas, 307, 308.
 Deucalion, 6, 7.
 Dionysos, 28.
 Dodona, 20, 22.
 Dorians, 8, 34-38, 54, 73, 74.
 Draco, 82.
- EGYPT**, 219-221, 256.
 Eion, 260.
 Eira, 62.
 Elis, 22, 37, 53, 67.
 Epaminondas, 316, 319, 322-329.
 Ephesus, 114, 135, 136.
 Ephialtes, 217.
 Epidamnus, 236, 237.
 Epirus, 22, 336.
 Erechtheum, 72, 95, 231.
 Erechtheus, 72, 95.
 Eretria, 135, 141.
 Euboea, 91, 104, 223, 224.
 Euripides, 282.
 Europa, 9, 10.
 Eurybiades, 160, 171, 172.
 Eurymedon, 209, 210.
- GAZA**, 356.
 Gelo, 268, 269.
 Granicus, 350.
 Greeks, 5, 6, 8.
 Gylippus, 277-282.
- HARMODIUS**, 99-102.
 Harpagus, 116-120, 126.
 Helen, 11, 13, 14, 18.
 Hellas, 19.
 Helle, 10.
- Hellen, 6, 8, 20.
 Hellenes, 6, 8, 19.
 Hera, 20, 54.
 Heracles, 8, 9, 34, 35, 51, 53, 264.
 Heraclids, 37.
 Herodotus, 64, 67, 142, 191, 231, 276.
 Hesiod, 97.
 Hiero, 269.
 Himera, 266, 268.
 Hipparchus, 91, 98-100.
 Hippias, 91, 98-101, 140, 141.
 Homer, 11, 14, 15, 18, 95, 97.
 Hyllus, 35.
- ILIUM**, 13.
 Inaros, 219, 220.
 Io, 9.
 Ionian cities, 111, 112, 114, 115, 125, 127, 197, 301, 354.
 Ionians, 8.
 Isagoras, 102, 103.
 Issus, 302, 352-355.
 Isthmian games, 31.
 Ithome, 58, 59, 211, 212, 326.
- JASON**, 11.
 Judaea, 128, 356.
- LACEDAEMON**. See Sparta.
 Laconia, 46, 48.
 Lade, 136, 137.
 Lamachus, 272-277.
 Laurium, 164, 284.
 Leonidas, 156-159.
 Leontini, 269, 270.
 Lesbos, 137, 197, 246-248.
 Leuctra, 324, 325, 329.
 Lycurgus, 33-50.
 Lydia, 111-114.
 Lysander, 293-295, 298-300, 310.
- MACEDONIA**, 138, 255, 256, 330-336.
 Mantinea, 315, 328, 329.
 Marathon, 92, 144-147.
 Mardonius, 138, 139, 176-187.
 Medes, 110, 111, 113, 115, 116.
 Megabazus, 138.
 Megacles (1), 76, 77.
 — (2), 88, 90, 91.
 Megalopolis, 325.
 Megara, 75, 76, 223, 238, 239, 255.
 Melos, 263.
 Menelaus, 11, 14, 17.
 Messana, 63, 266, 270.
 Messene, 326.
 Messenia, 37, 55, 60, 326, 328.
 Messenian wars, 56-59, 60-63, 211.
 Miletus, 112, 113, 125, 135-138, 285.
 Miltiades, 142, 143, 146.

MYCALE, 190, 191.
MYCENAE, 4, 51.
MYTILENE, 246-248, 285, 293, 321.
NABOPOLASSAR, 110.
NAUPACTUS, 36, 212.
NAXOS, 135, 141, 197, 215, 321, 322.
NEMEAN GAMES, 31, 54.
NICIAS, 253, 259, 261-263, 272-282.
NINEVEH, 108-110, 306, 357.
ODYSSEUS, 16, 17, 264, 265.
OLYMPIA, 20, 22, 28, 53.
OLYMPIC GAMES, 28, 30, 31, 53, 360.
OLYNTHUS, 317, 337, 339.
ORESTES, 65, 66, 85.
OXYLUS, 36, 37.
PALLAS. See *Athena*.
PALLEN, 92.
PANATHENAEA, 95, 231.
PARIS, 11, 13, 14.
PARMENIO, 350, 356.
PARTHENON, 25, 227-231.
PAUSANIAS (general), 181-187, 191, 198, 199, 201, 202, 239.
 — (king), 295, 300, 310.
PEIRAEUS, 165, 195, 196, 235.
PEISANDER, 311.
PEISISTRATUS, 88-98.
PELOPIDAS, 316, 318, 319, 324, 327, 328, 331.
PELOPONNESIAN WAR, 236-260, 283-296.
PERDICCAS I., 237, 255, 256.
 — II., 331, 332.
PERICLES, 216-219, 223-227, 237-240, 243.
PERSEPOLIS, 358, 359.
PERSEUS, 8, 51.
PERSIANS, 115, 116, 119, 120.
PHALERUM, 165, 196.
PHARNABAZUS, 289, 291, 299, 308, 309, 311, 312.
PHEIDIAS, 22, 71, 95, 225-231.
PHEIDON, 53, 54.
PHILIP, 331-344.
PHOCAEA, 126, 127, 285.
PHOCIA, 239, 335, 336, 340.
PHOEBIDAS, 317, 318, 320.
PHORMIO, 248, 249.
PLATAEA, 103, 104, 183, 189, 241, 242, 244-246, 326.
PLATO, 301.
PLUTARCH, 48, 50.
POSEIDON, 31, 70, 72, 228.
POTIDAEA, 237-239, 333.
PYLOS, 249-254, 261.
PYTHIAN GAMES, 27, 31, 340.

RHODES, 334.
SACRED WARS, 79, 80, 335, 336, 340.
SALAMIS, 25, 78, 79, 168-175.
 — in *Cyprus*, 222.
SAMOS, 137, 190, 191, 197, 288.
SARDIS, 121, 123, 135, 136, 149, 150, 351.
SCHLIEMANN, 11, 12, 13.
SCYTHIA, 132-134, 346.
SEGESTA, 270-272.
SELINUS, 270.
SESTOS, 198, 201, 290, 294, 349.
SICILY, 264-272.
SICYON, 75, 76.
SOCRATES, 301.
SOLON, 77-90.
SOPHOCLES, 71, 208, 233.
SPARTA, 37; under *Lycurgus*, 38-50; conquests of, 51-67; earthquake at, 211, 212; congress of allies at, 238; supreme in Greece, 297-299; peace congress at, 322, 323; war between Thebes and, 324-329.
SPHACTERIA, 249-254.
SPHODRIAS, 320.
SUSA, 131, 358.
SYRACUSE, 266-270, 272-282.
SYRIA, 356.
TEGEE, 64, 65, 66, 328.
TEMENUS, 36, 37, 51.
TEMPE, 155.
THEBES, 103, 104, 183, 229, 310, 311, 314, 318, 321, 329, 331, 335-337, 340, 343, 347.
THEMISTOCLES, 160, 162-168, 178, 193-197, 202-204.
THERMOPYLAE, 156-159, 337, 346.
THESEUS, 8, 72, 73, 95, 206.
THESSALY, 155, 156, 256, 327, 328, 331, 336.
THRACE, 138, 201, 255-257, 317, 332, 334, 337.
THRASYBULUS, 299, 300.
THYREATES, 66, 67.
TISSAPHERNES, 286, 287, 289, 290, 304, 307, 309.
TROY, 11, 18, 349, 350.
TYRE, 356.
TYRTAEUS, 60, 61.
XANTHIPPIUS, 178, 198, 216.
XENOPHON, 295, 301, 305-308, 328.
XERXES, 148-154, 172-178, 189, 199, 208.
ZEUS, 20-22.

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BY PROFESSOR C. WITT.

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Lesson 15, Warlike
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Thursday.

Went to the Art Museum.

Wednesday, February 7, 1911

